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## INTRODUCTION.

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IN an article on ' Magic and Religion ' published in the *Quarterly Review* of last July Mr. Edward Clodd complains that certain observations of mine on the subject of ' the impersonal stage of religion ' are hidden away under the ' prosaic title ' of the Report on the Census of India, 1901. The charge is just, and the offence is aggravated by the fact that the Report in question weighs seven pounds and is cumbered with many statistics. Mr. Clodd's grievance may, however, perhaps be thought to justify me in venturing to reprint, in a more handy form, the less dreary portions of my own contributions to the Report, with such revision and expansion as seemed to be called for. Two new chapters have been added. One of these, *Caste in Proverbs and Popular Sayings*, is an attempt to give a much described people the chance of describing themselves in their own direct and homely fashion. It is, in fact, a mosaic of proverbs, selected from the ample material which will be found in Appendix I, and fitted together into a connected whole with the minimum of comment and explanation. In the chapter on *Caste and Nationality* I have endeavoured to analyse the causes and to forecast the prospects of the Indian nationalist movement of recent years. Being anxious above all things to avoid giving offence, I submitted the proofs to Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, Fellow of the Calcutta University, and Editor of the *Indian Nation*, a sober thinker, who holds that the people of India ' should conceive national unity as their chief aim, and the realisation of it as their chief duty.\* ' Mr. Ghose gives me the comforting assurance—' I have discovered no sentiment with which I am not in agreement.'

For the same reason the chapter on *Caste and Religion*, which contains a certain amount of new matter, was laid before my friend Mr. Justice Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, one of the most learned, and not the least orthodox, of living Hindus. Dr. Mookerjee has been good enough to write to me : ' I have very carefully read over the proof which you so kindly sent me.

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\* *Hindustan Review*, Nov. and Dec. 1904.

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MAP OF INDIA SHOWING DIVISIONS OF RACES.

*Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Punjab,*  
J. B. Lyall. Lahore, 1865-72.

*Settlement Report of the District of Rohtak,* W. E. Purser and H. C.  
Fanshawe. Lahore, 1880.

*Some Assamese Proverbs,* Captain P. R. Gurdon. Assam Secretariat Press,  
1896.

*Tamil Proverbs with English translations,* Rev P. Percival. Madras, 1874.

*Tamil Sayings and Proverbs on Agriculture,* Madras.

*The Valley of Kashmere,* Sir Walter Lawrance. London, 1895.

*Western Rajputana States,* Lt.-Col. Adams, I.M.S. London, 1899.

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colonization towards the river basins of Indo-China rather than towards India itself. On either frontier, where the mountains become less formidable, other obstacles intervene to bar the way. On the western or Iranian march the gap between the Suleiman range and the Arabian Sea is closed by the arid plateaux and thirsty deserts of Makran; to the east, the hills of the Turanian border rise in a succession of waves from a sea of trackless forest. On either side, again, at any rate within historic times, the belt of debatable land which veiled a dubious and shifting frontier has been occupied by races of masterless men knowing, in the west, no law save that of plunder and vendetta, and in the east, owning no obligation but the primitive rule that a man must prove his manhood by taking the stranger's head. Along the coast line conditions of a different character tended equally to preclude immigration on a large scale. The succession of militant traders who landed on the narrow strip of fertile but malarious country which fringes Western India, found themselves cut off from the interior by the forest-clad barrier of the western Ghâts; while on the eastern side of the peninsula, the low coast, harbourless from Cape Comorin to Balasore, is guarded by dangerous shallows backed by a line of pitiless surf.

The country thus isolated by physical and historical causes comprises three main regions, the Himalaya or abode of snow; the Middle Land, or Madhyadesa, as the river plains of northern India are called in popular speech; and the southern table-land of the Deccan with its irregular hill ranges rising out of undulating plains. Each region possesses an ethnic character of its own, and has contributed a distinct element to the making of the Indian people. The Deccan, itself one of the most ancient geological formations in the world, has, since the dawn of history, been the home of the Dravidians, the oldest of the Indian races. The most recent of the three regions, the alluvial plains of the north, formed in pre-historic times the highway of the Aryan advance into India, and a large section of its inhabitants still cherishes the tradition of remote Aryan descent. The influence of the Himalaya has been mainly negative. It has served as a barrier against incursions from the north, but all along the line of the hills, even among people whose speech is of Rajput origin, distinct traces may be observed of an intermixture of Mongolian blood.

The Empire of to-day has outgrown its ancient limits, and now embraces the Indo-Iranian region of Baluchistan and the



For the internal factors—the races which lived and struggled within the environment roughly sketched above

**Internal factors.**

—we must depend to a great extent upon speculative data. Living organisms are more complex and less stable than their material surroundings. The hills may not be everlasting, as poets have imagined, but they outlive countless generations of men, and the changes that time works in their structure do impress on them some record, however imperfect, of processes which it has taken ages to complete. Man alone passes and leaves nothing behind. India in particular is conspicuous for the absence of the pre-historic evidence of which ethnologists in Europe have made such admirable use. There are no cave deposits, no sepulchral mounds or barrows, no kitchen middens, no lake dwellings, no ancient fortified towns such as modern research is now unearthing in Greece,\* and no sculptured bones or weapons portraying the vicissitudes of the life of primitive man. The climate and the insects have obliterated all perishable vestiges of the past, and what nature may have spared a people devoid of the historic sense has made no effort to preserve. To fill the blank we are thrown back mainly on conjecture. Yet in India conjecture starts from a more solid basis than in the progressive countries of the western world. For here we have before our eyes a society in many respects still primitive, which preserves, like a palimpsest manuscript, survivals of immemorial antiquity. In a land where all things always are the same we are justified in concluding that what is happening now must have happened, very much in the same way, throughout the earlier stages of human society in India. Observation of the present is our best guide to the reconstruction of the past.

On a stone panel forming part of one of the grandest Buddhist monuments in India, the great tope at Sānchī, a carving in low relief depicts a strange religious ceremony. Under trees with conventional foliage and fruits, three women, attired in tight clothing without skirts, kneel in prayer before a small shrine or altar. In the foreground, the leader of a procession of monkeys bears in both hands a bowl of liquid and stoops to offer it at the shrine. His solemn countenance and the grotesquely adoring gestures of his comrades seem intended to express

**The race basis of Indian society.**

\* In an instructive paper recently published Professor Kabbadias, Director of Antiquities in Greece, shows that in pre-historic times fortified towns occupied the place taken in other countries by pile-dwellings. *Man*, Decr, 1904, No 112.

what may be called the provincial types of the people of India, the local, racial, or linguistic aggregates which at first sight seem to correspond to the nations of Europe. But the general impressions thus formed, though accurate enough so far as they go, are wanting in scientific precision. They cannot be recorded or analysed; no description can convey their effect; they melt away in the attempt to fix them, and leave nothing behind.

The modern science of ethnology endeavours to define and to classify the various physical types, with reference to their distinctive characteristics, in the hope that when sufficient data have been accumulated

**The Data of  
Ethnology.**

it may be possible in some measure to account for the types themselves, to determine the elements of which they are composed, and thus to establish their connexion with one or other of the great families of mankind. In India, where historical evidence can hardly be said to exist, the data ordinarily available are of three kinds—physical characters, linguistic characters, and religious and social usages. Of these the first are by far the most trustworthy. Most anthropologists, indeed, are now inclined to adopt without much question the opinion of the late Sir William Flower, who wrote to me some years ago that “physical characters are the best, in fact the only true tests of race, that is, of real affinity; language, customs, etc., may help or give indications, but they are often misleading.”

The claims of language to share in the settlement of questions of race cannot, however, be dismissed in a single sentence. Nearly twenty years ago, when the ethnographic survey of Bengal was in progress, the late Professor Max Müller sent me a long letter, since published in his collected works, in which he protested against “the unholy alliance” of the two sciences of ethnology and comparative philology. At first sight it is hard to understand why two lines of research, dealing with different subjects and working towards different ends, should be charged with nefarious collusion for the purpose of perverting the truth. A clue to the grounds of the accusation is, however, furnished by Sir Henry Maine’s remark that the study of the sacred languages of India has given to the world “the modern science of Philology and the modern theory of Race.” The study of Sanskrit received its first impetus from the publication by Sir William Jones of translations of Kālidāsa’s *Sakuntala* in 1789 and of the *Institutes of Manu* in 1794. The discovery was announced

**Language and Race**

transformed into a goat), together with a small number of common words and phrases. But to have recorded the physical characters of the people on a similar scale would have cost an immense sum ; the operations would have extended over many years ; and the results would probably have been vitiated by the personal divergencies of the numerous observers whom it would have been necessary to employ.

Secondly, languages lend themselves far more readily to precise classification than the minute variations of form and feature which go to make up an ethnic type. Thirdly, —and this is perhaps the most important point of all—while there are practically no mixed languages, there are hardly any pure races. Judged by the only sound test, that of grammatical structure as distinguished from mere vocabulary, all languages may be regarded as true genera and species from which no hybrid progeny can arise. Words may be borrowed on a larger or smaller scale but the essential structure of the language remains unchanged, the foreign elements being forced into an indigenous mould. Thus French people who have taken to afternoon tea have evolved the verb “*five o’cloquer*” ; a Bengali clerk who is late for office will say *āmi miss-train kariyāchhi*, converting a mangled English phrase into a characteristic verbal noun ; and a Berlin tram-conductor, who was explaining to me how his working hours had come to be reduced, summed up the position with the words “*wir haben nämlich streikirt.*” In each case a foreign phrase has been taken to express an imported idea ; but this phrase has been absorbed and dealt with in accordance with the genius of the language and there is no approach to structural hybridism. Races, on the other hand, mix freely ; they produce endless varieties ; and it can hardly be said even now that any satisfactory agreement has been arrived at as to the system on which such varieties should be classified.

These considerations go some way towards accounting for the “unholy alliance” which politics and the spirit of classification have combined to bring about between two distinct sciences. They fail, however, to give us much assistance in the solution of the main question—what are the true relations between Ethnology and Philology ? Within what limits can we argue from correspondences of language to community of race or from differences of language to diversity of race ? Are we to hold with Schwiker and Hale that language is the only true test of racial affinities ; or should we follow Sayce’s opinion that “identity or relationship of language can prove nothing more than social contact ?” The mere fact that speech is a physiological

- (4) where both language and physical type are unchanged, as with the Andamanese, the Santals, the Mundas, the Manipuris and many others.

In the first two cases an appeal to language would clearly be ineffectual unless historical evidence were forthcoming to show what the original language had been. In India the *genius loci* has not turned to history, and almost the only instance in which ancient records throw light upon the origin of a tribe is that of the Ahoms, a Shan people who entered Assam early in the thirteenth century and within the next three hundred years conquered and gave their name to the country. Towards the end of the seventeenth century they embraced Hinduism, lost their original language, and 'became, like Brahmans, powerful in talk alone.' Their chronicles (*buranji* or 'store of instructions for the ignorant') were kept up by their priests in Ahom 'an old form of the language which ultimately became Shan,' and are the chief authority for the early history of Assam.

To the remaining two cases we may apply a canon which I suggested to Dr. Grierson some two years ago, and which he has embodied in his chapter on Language in the Census Report of 1901. I would now state it somewhat more fully thus :—

- (1) In areas where several languages are spoken one or more of them will usually be found to be gaining ground while others are stationary or declining: the condition of stable equilibrium is comparatively rare. The former may be described in relation to any given area as *dominant*, the latter as *decadent* or *subordinate* languages. What languages belong to either class is in each case a matter of observation.
- (2) The fact that a particular tribe or people uses a *dominant* language does not of itself suggest any inference as to their origin.
- (3) The fact that such a group speaks a *decadent* language may supply evidence of their origin, the value of which will vary with circumstances.

It must be admitted, however, that these propositions do not carry us very far, and that in their application to particular cases they tend to break down just at the point where the enquiry begins to be interesting. Of course it is obvious enough that the fact that the Rājibansi-Kochh and the Bhumij both speak Bengali does not

last Census Report for India shows the distribution of the Dravidian languages. Most of the Dravidian-speaking areas are massed in the south of India, while a few outlying patches represent Gond in the Central Provinces and Kandh, Kurnkh, and Malto in Bengal. Otherwise the map is blank save for Brahui, a tiny island of Dravidian speech far away in Baluchistan where it is surrounded on all sides by Indo-Aryan languages. As to the Dravidian affinities of the Brahui language, I understand that there is practical agreement among linguistic authorities. Concerning the conclusions to be drawn from this fact opinions differ widely. One school founds upon it the hypothesis that the Dravidians entered India from beyond the north-west frontier, while another regards the Brahui as an outpost of the main body of Dravidians in Southern India. Both assume identity of race, and both ignore the essential fact that, as is shown at length below, few types of humanity can present more marked physical differences than the Brahui and the Dravidian. How then can we explain the resemblances of language? Surely only by assuming that at some remote period the two races must have been in contact and that the speech of one influenced that of the other. Thus what seems at first sight to be a crucial instance serves merely to bring out the uncertainty that besets any attempt to argue from language to race. Here, if anywhere, is a decadent and isolated language; here, if anywhere, it ought to tell a plain tale; and here, when confronted with other evidence, it conspicuously fails us. Thus we end very much where we began, with the rather impotent conclusion that in questions of racial affinity, while the testimony of language should certainly be considered, the chances are against its telling us anything that we did not know already from other and less dubious sources.

For ethnological purposes physical characters may be said to be of two kinds—*indefinite* characters which can only be described in more or less appropriate language, and *definite* characters which admit of being measured and reduced to numerical expression. The former class, usually called descriptive or secondary characters, includes such points as the colour and texture of the skin; the colour, form, and position of the eyes; the colour and character of the hair; and the form of the face and features. Conspicuous as these traits are, the difficulty of observing, defining, and recording them is extreme. Colour, the most striking of them all, is perhaps

**Indefinite physical  
characters.**

unmixed with milk. Of the Irulas of the Nilgiri jungles, some South Indian humourist is reported to have said that charcoal leaves a white mark upon them. At the other end one may place the flushed ivory skin of the typical Kashmiri beauty and the very light transparent brown—"wheat-coloured" is the common vernacular description—of the higher castes of Upper India, which Emil Schmidt compares to milk just tinged with coffee and describes as hardly darker than is found in members of the swarthier races of Southern Europe. Between these extremes we find countless shades of brown, darker or lighter, transparent or opaque, frequently tending towards yellow, more rarely approaching a reddish tint, and occasionally degenerating into a sort of greyish black which seems to depend on the character of the surface of the skin. It would be a hopeless task to attempt to register and to classify these variations. Nor, if it were done, should we be in a position to evolve order out of the chaos of tints. For even in the individual minute gradations of colour are comparatively unstable, and are liable to be affected not only by exposure to sun and wind but also by differences of temperature and humidity. Natives of Bengal have assured me that people of their race, one of the darkest in India, become appreciably fairer when domiciled in Hindustan or the Punjab; and the converse process may be observed not only in natives of Upper India living in the damp heat of the Ganges delta, but in Indians returning from a prolonged stay in Europe, who undergo a perceptible change of colour during the voyage to the East. The fair complexion of the women of the shell-cutting Sankāri caste in Dacca is mainly due to their seclusion in dark rooms, and the Lingāyats of southern India who wear a box containing a tiny phallus tied in a silk cloth round the upper arm, show, when they take it off, a pale band of skin contrasting sharply with the colour of the rest of the body.

Still less variety is traceable in the character of the eyes and hair. From one end of India to the other, the hair of the great mass of the population is black or dark brown, while among the higher castes the latter colour is occasionally shot through by something approaching a tawny shade. Straight hair seems, on the whole, to predominate, but hair of a wavy or curly character appears in much the same proportion as among the races of Europe. The Andamanese have woolly or frizzy hair, oval in section and curling on itself so tightly that it seems to grow in separate spiral tufts, while in fact it is quite evenly distributed over the scalp. Although the terms woolly and

opinion had been derived by Egyptian sculptors from the study of the Nubian negroes whom they employed as models.

The Roman canon handed down in the treatise *De Architectura* of Vitruvius was taken up and developed in the early days of the Renaissance by Leo Battista Alberti, himself, like Vitruvius, an architect, and a curious enquirer into the secret ways of nature and of the human frame. Forty years later Leonardo da Vinci, in his *Trattato della pittura*, expressed the general opinion that the proportions of the body should be studied in children and adults of both sexes, and refuted the opinion of Vitruvius that the navel should be deemed the centre of the body. Following Leonardo's suggestions, Albrecht Dürer addressed himself to the task of working out the proportions of the body for different ages and sexes, for persons of different heights, and for different types of figure. In his '*Four books on the proportions of the human figure*,' published at Nürnberg in 1528, the year of his death, Dürer discussed the difficult question of the so-called 'orientation' or adjustment of the head in an upright position, and he is believed by the authors of the *Crania ethnica* to have also anticipated Camper's invention of the facial angle. Jean Cousin, a French contemporary of Dürer's, took the nose as his unit of length and represented the ideal head as measuring four noses, and the ideal stature as equivalent to eight heads or thirty-two noses. Cousin's system, slightly modified by Charles Blanc, holds its own at the present day as the *canon des ateliers* of French artists, preference, however, being given in ordinary parlance to the head rather than the nose as the unit of length.

All these canons, it will be observed, approach the subject purely from the artistic point of view; and so far from taking account of the distinctive characters of particular races, incline to sink these in the attempt to frame a general canon of the proportions of the body which should hold good for the whole of mankind. Such an endeavour would be foreign to the purpose of anthropology, which fixes its attention on points of difference rather than of resemblance, and seeks by examination and analysis of such differences to form hypotheses concerning the genesis of the distinct race stocks now in existence. It would perhaps be fanciful to trace the germs of anthropometric research in the statement of Herodotus that the skulls of the Persian soldiers slain at the battle of Plataea were thin, and those of the Egyptians were thick, or to cite his explanation, that the former lived an indoor life and always wore hats, while the



an intermediate group, called *mesati-cephalic* or medium-headed and ranging from 77·7 to 80 per cent., and by giving the name of cephalic index to the relation between the two diameters. Numerous other measurements, which are described in the literature of the subject, have since been introduced.

In the earlier days of anthropology, it was natural that the attention of students should have been directed mainly to the examination of skulls. Craniometry seemed to offer a solution of the problems regarding the origin and antiquity of the human race which then divided the scientific world. Its precise method promised to clear up the mystery of the prehistoric skulls discovered in the quaternary strata of Europe, and to connect them on the one side with a possible Simian ancestor of mankind and on the other with the races of the present day. The latter line of research led on to the measurements of living subjects, which have since been undertaken by a number of enquirers on a very large scale. Anthropometry which deals with living people, while craniometry is concerned exclusively with skulls, possesses certain advantages over the elder science. For reasons too technical to enter upon here, its procedure is in some respects less precise and its results less minute and exhaustive than those of craniometry. These minor shortcomings are, however, amply made up for by its incomparably wider range. The number of subjects available is practically unlimited; measurements can be undertaken on a scale large enough to eliminate, not merely the personal equation of the measurer, but also the occasional variations of type arising from intermixture of blood; and the investigation is not restricted to the characters of the head, but extends to the stature and the proportions of the limbs. A further advantage arises from the fact that no doubts can be cast upon the identity of the individuals measured. In working with skulls, whether prehistoric or modern, this last point has to be reckoned with. The same place of sepulture may have been used in succession by two different races, and the skulls of conquering chiefs may be mixed with those of alien slaves or of prisoners slain to escort their captors to the world of the dead. The savage practice of head-hunting may equally bring out about a deplorable confusion of cranial types; famine skulls may belong to people who have wandered from no one knows where; and even hospital specimens may lose their identity in the process of cleaning. In the second of

statements that 'the great majority of Brahmans are not of lighter complexion or of finer and better bred features than any other caste' and that a stranger walking through the class rooms of the Sanskrit College at Benares 'would never dream of supposing' that the high caste students of that exclusive institution 'were distinct in race and blood from the scavengers who swept the roads.' A theory which departed so widely from literary tradition, from the current beliefs of the people, and from the opinions of most independent observers called for the searching test which anthropometry promised to furnish, and the case was crucial enough to put the method itself on its trial. The experiment has been justified by its results.

In 1890 I published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* under the title "The Study of Ethnology in India" a summary of the measurements of eighty-nine characteristic tribes and castes of Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Punjab. These measurements were taken in accordance with a scheme approved by the late Sir William Flower of the British Museum and Professor Topinard of Paris. Topinard's instruments were used and his instructions were closely followed throughout. Analysis of the data rendered it possible to distinguish in the area covered by the experiment, three main types, which were named provisionally Aryan, Dravidian, and Mongoloid. The characteristics of these types will be discussed fully below. Here it is sufficient to remark that the classification was accepted at the time by Flower, Beddoe, and Haddon in England, by Topinard in France, and by Virchow, Schmidt, and Kollmann in Germany. It has recently been confirmed by the high authority of Sir William Turner, who has been led by the examination of a large number of skulls to the same conclusions that were suggested to me by measurements taken on living subjects, and has been good enough to quote and adopt my descriptions of the leading types in his monographs† on the subject. Similar confirmation is furnished in the case of the Punjab by the craniometric researches of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Havelock Charles.‡ Great additions have since been made to the number of measurements on living subjects by the exertions of Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of Ethnography for Southern India, under the comprehensive scheme

\* J. A. I., XX, 235.

† *Contributions to the Craniology of the People of the Empire of India.* Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. XXXIX, Part III (No. 28); Vol. XL, Part I (No. 6).

‡ *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, Vol. XXVII, p. 20.

and a Negro, or a Patagonian and a Hottentot. But owing to the tendency of individuals to vary, and to the intermixture of races which has gone on more or less at all times, and is continually increasing with modern improvements in communications, the apparently impassable gulf between the extreme types is bridged over by a number of intermediate or transitional forms which shade into each other by almost imperceptible degrees. It is therefore practically impossible to divide mankind into a number of definite groups in one or other of which every individual will find a place. Even as regards the primary groups there has been great diversity of opinion, and the number suggested by different writers ranges from two to more than sixty. In the main, however, as Flower has pointed out, there has always been a tendency to revert to the four primitive types sketched out by Linnæus—the European, Asiatic, African, and American, reduced by Cuvier to three by the omission of the American type. Flower himself is of opinion ‘that the primitive man, whatever he may have been, has in the course of ages divaricated into three extreme types represented by the Caucasian of Europe, the Mongolian of Asia, and the Ethiopian of Africa,’ and ‘that all existing individuals of the species can be ranged around these types or somewhere or other between them.’ He therefore adopts as the basis of his classification the following three types :—

- I. The Ethiopian, Negroid, or black type with dark or nearly black complexion ; frizzly black hair, a head almost invariably long (dolicho-cephalic) ; a very broad and flat nose ; moderate or scanty development of beard ; thick, everted lips ; large teeth ; and a long forearm.

The Negroid type is again sub-divided into four groups, with only one of which we are concerned here. This is the Negrito, represented within the Indian Empire by the Andamanese enumerated for the first time in the Census of 1901 and possibly by the Semangs of the jungles of Malacca, some of whom may have wandered up into the Mergui district of Burma. In respect of colour and hair, the Andamanese closely resemble the Negro, but they have broad heads, their facial characters are different, and they form a very distinct group which has not been affected by intermixture with other races.

- II. The Mongolian, Xanthous, or yellow type, with yellow or brownish complexion. These races have coarse, straight

'Hindus' (non-Dravidian Indians) in the first of these groups. The Dravidians are classed with Sinhalese and Veddahs as people of uncertain origin. Huxley treats them as Australoid.

In respect of classification the general position in India is closely parallel to that described above. It is easy enough to distinguish certain well-marked types. Our difficulties begin when we attempt

**Their application  
to India.**

to carry the process of classification further and to differentiate the minor types or subtypes which have been formed by varying degrees of intermixture between the main types. The extremes of the series are sharply defined, but the intermediate types melt into each other, and it is hard to say where the dividing line should be drawn. Here measurements are of great assistance, especially if they are arranged in a series so as to bring out the relative preponderance of certain characters in a large number of the members of particular groups. This is well illustrated by the diagrams in Appendix IV, and will be more fully dwelt upon below. We are further assisted by the remarkable correspondence that may be observed at the present day in all parts of India, except the Punjab, between variations of physical type and differences of grouping and social position. This, of course, is due to the operation of the caste system, which in its most highly developed form, the only

**Conditions  
favourable to  
anthropometry.**

form which admits of precise definition, is, I believe, entirely confined to India. Nowhere else in the world do we find the population of a large continent broken up into an infinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside of the group to which they themselves belong. Whatever may have been the origin and the earlier developments of caste, this absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands forth now as its essential and most prominent characteristic, and the feeling against such unions is so deeply engrained in the people that even the theistic and reforming sect of the Brahmo Samāj has found a difficulty in freeing itself from the ancient prejudices, while the Lingāyats of Western and Southern India have transformed themselves from a sect into a caste within recent times. In a society thus organized, a society putting an extravagant value on pride of blood and the idea of ceremonial purity, differences of physical type, however produced in the first instance, may be expected to manifest a high degree of persistence,

Mongols, and the Australians from the Negritos. All authorities agree in regarding the form of the head as an extremely constant and persistent character, which resists the influence of climate and physical surroundings, and (having nothing to do with the personal appearance of the individual) is not liable to be modified by the action of artificial selection. Men choose their wives mainly for their faces and figures, and a long-headed woman offers no greater attractions of external form and colouring than her short-headed sister. The intermixture of races with different head-forms will, of course, affect the index, but even here there is a tendency to revert to the original type when the influence of crossing is withdrawn. On the whole, therefore, the form of the head, especially when combined with other characters, is a good test of racial affinity. It may be added that neither the shape nor the size of the head seems to bear any direct relation to intellectual capacity. People with long heads cannot be said to be cleverer or more advanced in culture than people with short heads.

In relation to the rest of Asia, India may be described as an area of mainly long-headed people separated by the Himalaya and its off-shoots from the Mongolian country, where the broad-headed types are more numerous and more pronounced than anywhere else in the world. At either end of the mountain barrier, broad heads are strongly represented in Assam and Burma on the east, and in Baluchistan on the west, and the same character occurs in varying degrees in the lower Himalayas and in a belt of country on the west of India extending from Gujarat through the Deccan to Coorg, the limits of which cannot at present be defined precisely. In the Punjab, Rajputana, and the United Provinces, long heads predominate, but the type gradually changes as we travel eastwards. In Bihar medium heads prevail on the whole, while in certain of the Bengal groups a distinct tendency towards brachy-cephaly may be observed, which shows itself in the Muhammadans and Chandāls of Eastern Bengal, is more distinctly marked in the Kāyasths, and reaches its maximum development among the Bengal Brahmans. In Peninsular India south of the Vindhya ranges, the prevalent type seems to be mainly long-headed or medium-headed, short heads appearing only in the western zone of country referred to above. But the population of the coast has been much affected by foreign influence, Malayan or Indo-Chinese on the east, Arab, Persian, African, European and

Shape of the head in  
India.

the Indo-Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of sixty-eight Parisians, measured by Topinard, which gave an average of 69·4. Even more striking is the curiously close correspondence between the gradations of racial type indicated by the nasal index and certain of the social data ascertained by independent enquiry. If we take a series of castes in Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, or Madras, and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index, so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence. Thus in Bihar or the United Provinces the casteless tribes, Kols, Korwas, Mundās and the like, who have not yet entered the Brahmanical system, occupy the lowest place in both series. Then come the vermin-eating Musāhars and the leather-dressing Chamārs. The fisher castes, Bauri, Bind, and Kewat, are a trifle higher in the scale; the pastoral Goālā, the cultivating Kurmi, and a group of cognate castes from whose hands a Brahman may take water follow in due order, and from them we pass to the trading Khattris, the landholding Babbhans and the upper crust of Hindu society. Thus, for those parts of India where there is an appreciable strain of Dravidian blood it is scarcely a paradox to lay down, as a law of the caste organization, that the social status of the members of a particular group varies in inverse ratio to the mean relative width of their noses. Nor is this the only point in which the two sets of observations—the social and the physical—bear out and illustrate each other. The character of the curious matrimonial groupings for which the late Mr. J. F. McLennan devised the useful term *exogamous*, also varies in a definite relation to the gradations of physical type. Within a certain range of nasal proportions, these sub-divisions are based almost exclusively on the totem. Along with a somewhat finer form of nose, groups called after villages and larger territorial areas, or bearing the name of certain tribal or communal officials, begin to appear, and above these again we reach the eponymous saints and heroes who in India, as in Greece and Rome, are associated with a certain stage of Aryan progress.

The comparative flatness of the Mongolian face is a peculiarity which cannot fail to strike the most casual observer. On closer examination this characteristic will be seen to be intimately connected with the formation of the cheek-bones, the margins of the bony

Shape of face: orbito-nasal index.

This brings the Mongoloid people of Assam and the Eastern Himalayas within the platypic group, and effectually differentiates them from the broad-headed races of Baluchistan, Bombay and Coorg. It also separates the Indo-Aryans from the Aryo-Dravidians.

Topinard's classification of stature, which is generally accepted,

**Stature in Europe and India.** comprises four groups :—

Tall statures,	170 c m	(5' 7") and over
Above the average,	165 c m	(5' 5") and under 170 c m. (5' 7")
Below the average,	160 c m	(5' 3") and under 165 c m (5' 5")
Small statures,	under 160 c m	(5' 3")

Much has been written on the subject of the causes which affect the stature. The general conclusion seems to be that in Europe the question is a very complicated one, and that the influence of race is to a great extent obscured by other factors, such as climate, soil, elevation, food-supply, habits of life, occupation, and natural or artificial selection. Most of these causes also come into play in India, but not necessarily to the same extent as in Europe. The influence of city life, which in civilized countries as a rule tends to reduce the stature and to produce physical degeneracy, is comparatively small in India, where from fifty to eighty-four per cent. of the population are engaged in agriculture and live an outdoor life. Nor are the conditions of factory industries in India so trying or so likely to affect growth as in Europe. The operatives do not attend so regularly nor do they work so hard, and many of them live in the country for a great part of the year, coming into the mills only when there is nothing to be done in the fields. Some of the indigenous hand-loom weavers, however, show the lowest mean stature yet recorded—a fact which is probably due to the unwholesome surroundings in which they live. In India, as in Europe, the dwellers in the hills are generally shorter than the people of the plains, and within the hill region it may in either case be observed that the stature is often greater at high than at moderate altitudes—a fact which has been ascribed to the influence of a rigorous climate in killing off all but vigorous individuals. In India the prevalence of malaria in the lower levels and the less healthy conditions of life would probably tend to bring about the same result. On the whole, however, the distribution of stature in India seems to suggest that race differences play a larger part here than they do in Europe.



elements in which the former predominate. Stature above mean ; complexion fair ; eyes mostly dark, but occasionally grey ; hair on face plentiful ; head broad ; nose moderately narrow, prominent, and very long.

II. The *Indo-Aryan* type, occupying the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir, and having as its characteristic members the Rajputs, Khattris, and Jāts. This type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India. The stature is mostly tall ; complexion fair ; eyes dark ; hair on face plentiful ; head long ; nose narrow and prominent, but not specially long.

III. The *Scytho-Dravidian* type of Western India, comprising the Marātha Brahmans, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs ; probably formed by a mixture of Scythian and Dravidian elements, the former predominating in the higher groups, the latter in the lower. The head is broad ; complexion fair ; hair on face rather scanty ; stature medium ; nose moderately fine and not conspicuously long.

IV. The *Aryo-Dravidian* type found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, in parts of Rajputana, in Bihar and Ceylon, and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustāni Brahman and in its lower by the Chamār. Probably the result of the intermixture, in varying proportions, of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types, the former element predominating in the lower groups and the latter in the higher. The head-form is long with a tendency to medium ; the complexion varies from lightish brown to black ; the nose ranges from medium to broad, being always broader than among the Indo-Aryans ; the stature is lower than in the latter group, and is usually below the average by the scale given above.

V. The *Mongolo-Dravidian* type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brahmans and Kāyasths, the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. Probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups. The head is broad ; complexion dark ; hair on face usually plentiful ; stature medium ; nose medium with a tendency to broad.

VI. The *Mongoloid* type of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam, and Burma, represented by the Kanets of Lahoul and Kulu, the Lepchās of Darjeeling, the Limbus, Murmis and Gurungs of Nepal, the Bodo of Assam, and the Burmese. The head is broad ; complexion dark with a yellowish tinge ; hair on face scanty ; stature small or

and receiving a measure of social recognition dependent in the main on the supposed purity of their descent from the original immigrants.\* Family and caste traditions record countless instances of such incursions, and in many cases the tradition is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historical documents and physical characteristics. Even in the provinces farthest removed from the Indo-Aryan settlements in North-Western India, members of the upper castes are still readily distinguishable by their features and complexion from the mass of the population, and their claims to represent a different race are thrown into relief by the definition now for the first time attempted of the types which predominate in different parts of India. Until the existence of a lower type has been established, no special distinction is involved in belonging to a higher one. Thirdly, it may be said that the names assigned to the types beg the highly speculative question of the elements which have contributed to their formation. The criticism is unanswerable. One can but admit its truth, and plead by way of justification that we must have some distinctive names for our types, that names based solely on physical characters are no better than bundles of formulæ, and that if hypotheses of origin are worth constructing at all, one should not shrink from expressing them in their most telling form.

The *Turko-Iranian* type is in practically exclusive possession of Baluchistān and the North-West Frontier Province. Its leading characteristics are the following :—

(i) The head is broad, the mean indices ranging from 80 in the Baloch of the Western Punjab to 85 in the Hazāra of Afghanistan. I put aside as doubtful cases the Hunzas, Nagars, and Kāfirs and the Pathāns of the North-Western Punjab. For the first three the data are scanty, and it is possible that further enquiry might lead to their inclusion in the Indo-Aryan type. In the case of the last the individual indices vary from 69 to 87, and although broad heads preponderate on the whole, there is a sufficient proportion of long heads to warrant the suspicion of some mixture of blood.

(ii) The proportions of the nose (nasal index) are fine or medium, the average indices running from 67·8 in the Tarin to 80·5 in the

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\* An effective parallel might be drawn between the predatory invasions of the Rajputs and the settlements effected by the Normans in Sicily, Southern Italy and Greece. Both sets of movements arose from similar impulses, both have left unmistakable traces behind, and both ended in the comparative absorption of the conquering race.

Turko-Iranian. Its most marked characteristics may be summarised as follows :—

(i) The head-form is invariably long, the average index ranging from 72·4 in the Rajput to 74·4 in the Awān. The highest individual index (86) is found among the Khattris and the lowest (64) among the Rajputs. The seriations bring out very clearly the enormous preponderance of the long-headed type and present the sharpest contrast with those given for the Turko-Iranians.

(ii) In respect of the proportions of the nose there is very little difference between the two types. The Indo-Aryan index ranges from 66·9 in the Gujar to 75·2 in the Chuhra, and there are fewer high individual indices ; but between the seriations there is not much to choose. On the other hand the Indo-Aryans, notwithstanding their greater stature, have noticeably shorter noses than the Turko-Iranians.

(iii) Concerning the orbito-nasal index there is little to be said. All the members of the Indo-Aryan type are placed by their average indices within the pro-opic group ; their faces are free from any suggestion of flatness and the figures expressing this character run in a very regular series. The highest index (117·9) occurs among the Rajputs and the lowest (113·1) amongst the Khattris.

(iv) The Indo-Aryans have the highest stature recorded in India, ranging from 174·8 in the Rajput to 165·8 in the Arora. Individual measurements of Rajputs rise to 192·4 and of Jāts (Sikhs) to 190·5. Stature alone, therefore, were other indications wanting, would serve to differentiate the Indo-Aryan from the Aryo-Dravidian type of the United Provinces and Bihar.

The most important points to observe in the Indo-Aryan series of measurements are the great uniformity of type and the very slight differences between the higher and the lower groups. Socially, no gulf can be wider than that which divides the Rajputs of Udaipur and Mewār from the scavenging Chuhra of the Punjab. Physically, the one is cast in much the same mould as the other ; and the difference in mean height which the seriations disclose is no greater than might easily be accounted for by the fact that in respect of food, occupation, and habits of life, the Rajput has for many generations enjoyed advantages, telling directly on the development of stature, which circumstances have denied to the Chuhra. Stature we know to be peculiarly sensitive to external influences of this kind. Other and more subtle influences re-act upon environment and tend to

shorter nose and a lower orbito-nasal index. All of these characters, except perhaps the last, may be due to a varying degree of intermixture with the Dravidians. In the higher types the amount of crossing seems to have been slight; in the lower the Dravidian elements are more pronounced, while in the Kātkari the long head and wide nose are conspicuous.

The *Aryo-Dravidian* or *Hindustāni* type extends from the eastern frontier of the Punjab to the southern extremity of Bihar, from which point onwards it melts into the Mongolo-Dravidian type of Bengal Proper. It occupies the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna and runs up into the lower levels of the Himalayas on the north and the slopes of the Central India plateau on the south. Its higher representatives approach the Indo-Aryan type, while the lower members of the group are in many respects not very far removed from the Dravidians. The type is essentially a mixed one, yet its characteristics are readily definable, and no one would take even an upper class Hindustāni for a pure Indo-Aryan or a Chamār for a genuine Dravidian. Turning now to details we find the following results:—

(i) The head-form is long with a tendency towards medium. The average index varies from 72·1 in the Kāchi and Koiri of Hindustan to 76·8 in the Dosādh of Bihar and 76·7 in the Bābhan. The highest individual index (90) occurs among the Bābhans of Bihar and the lowest (62) among the Bhars of Hindustan. But the head-form throws little light upon the origin and affinities of the type and would of itself barely serve to distinguish the Aryo-Dravidian from the Indo-Aryan. Nor, indeed, would one expect it to do so, for the pure Dravidians are themselves a long-headed race, and the Hindustāni people might well have derived this character from the Dravidian element in their parentage.

(ii) The distinctive feature of the type, the character which gives the real clue to its origin and stamps the Aryo-Dravidian as racially different from the Indo-Aryan, is to be found in the proportions of the nose. The average index runs in an unbroken series from 73·0 in the Bhuinhār or Bābhan of Hindustan and 73·2 in the Brahman of Bihar to 86 in the Hindustāni Chamār and 88·7 in the Musāhar of Bihar. The order thus established corresponds substantially with the scale of social precedence independently ascertained. At the top of the list are the Bhuinhārs who rank high among the territorial aristocracy of Hindustan and Bihar; then come the Brahmins,

Bengal so closely that it takes an acute observer to tell the difference between the two.

(ii) The mean proportions of the nose range from 70·3 in the Brahmans and Kāyasths to 84·7 in the Mals of Western Bengal and 80 in the Kochh. The number of high individual indices brings out the contrast with the Indo-Aryans and points to the infusion of Dravidian blood. In the Brahman seriation the finer forms predominate, and it is open to any one to argue that, notwithstanding the uncompromising breadth of the head, the nose-form may in their case be due to the remote strain of Indo-Aryan ancestry to which their traditions bear witness.

(iii) The stature varies from 167 in the Brahmans of Western Bengal to 159 in the Kochh of the Sub-Himalayan region.

The seriations of the Kochh deserve special notice for the indications which they give of the two elements that have combined to form the Mongolo-Dravidian type. In writing about them fifteen years ago I ventured, on the evidence then available, to describe them as a people of Dravidian stock who, being driven by pressure from the west into the swamps and forests of Northern and North-Eastern Bengal, were there brought into contact with the Mongoloid races of the Lower Himalayas and the Assam border, with the result that their type was affected in a varying degree by intermixture with these races. On the whole, however, I thought that Dravidian characteristics predominated among them over Mongolian. My conclusions, which coincided in the main with those of Colonel Dalton and other observers, have been questioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell, C.B., C.I.E., in a paper on the *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley*.\* Colonel Waddell, who has observed and measured the Kochh both in North-Eastern Bengal and in Assam, denies their Dravidian origin and describes them as 'distinctly Mongoloid though somewhat heterogeneous.' For purposes of comparison I have included both his measurements and my own in the same diagram. As regards the head-form and the stature, the two sets of observations are practically identical. In the case of the nose, Colonel Waddell's data show a far higher proportion of broad noses than mine, and clearly point to a strong Dravidian element. On the other hand, the orbito-nasal index exhibits, though in a less degree, some distinctive Mongoloid characteristics. One can ask for no better illustration of

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\* J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIX, Part III. 190.

the little kingdoms which once extended from the Kashmir valley to the eastern border of Nepal. The Dogrās or Hill Rajputs of Kāngra, and the Khas of Nepal form the living record of these forgotten enterprises. Further east the conditions were reversed. Neither Bengalis nor Assamese have any stomach for fighting; they submitted tamely to the periodical raids of the hill people, and the only check upon the incursions of the latter was their inability to stand the heat of the plains. They occupied, however, the whole of the lower ranges and held the Duārs or 'gates' of Bhutan until dispossessed by us. Thus in the Eastern Himalayas none of the plains people made good a footing within the hills, which remain to this day in the exclusive possession of races of the Mongoloid type.

The summaries of measurements given in the appendix relate to a fairly large number of subjects and the type is distinct.

(i) The prevalent head-form is broad but the mean indices show some remarkable departures from this type. The Jaintia index is 72·9, thus falling within the long-headed category, and several tribes have indices between 75 and 80. These low indices are, however, based upon a comparatively small number of subjects and it seems not unlikely that a larger series of measurements may sensibly modify the average. In any case a great deal of work will have to be done before we are in a position to determine the probable affinities of the numerous Mongoloid tribes who inhabit the hilly region between India and China.

(ii) The nose-form appears at first sight to show a great range of variations, but on closer examination it will be seen that the higher indices are for the most part confined to tribes for which the data are scanty. In the larger groups the mean index ranges from 67·2 for the Lepchās to 84·5 for the Chakmas and 86·3 for the Khasiās; the Tibetans (73·9) and the Murmis (75·2) falling between these extremes. The highest mean index (95·1) occurs among the Mānde or Gāro, in one of whom, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell, the width of the nose exceeds its height to an extent indicated by the surprising ratio of 117. But only 34 Gāros have been measured and looking to the possibilities of crossing one can scarcely regard the figures as conclusive. On the measurements given in the table there may be some question whether the Mānde should not be classed as Mongolo-Dravidian, and this view may be thought to derive some support from Buchanan's description of them as a wild section of the Kochh.

of the original stock survive in varying degrees. We must look to the researches of Mr. Thurston, who is conducting the ethnographic survey of Southern India, to define and classify the numerous sub-types thus established and to determine the causes which have given rise to them.

Turning now to the actual measurements we find the following specific characters :—

(i) . The head-form is usually medium with a tendency in the direction of length. The mean indices range in Southern India from 71·7 in the Badaga of the Nilgris and 72·9 in the Kādir of the Anamalai Hills to 76·6 in the Shānāns of Tinnevely. The Tiyaṅs (73), Nāyars (73·2), Cheruman (73·4), Palli (73), Parāyan or Pariah (73·6), Irula (73·1) and several others also fall well within the long-headed group. In Chutia Nāgpur, on the other hand, the type is uniformly medium. Among the large groups the Chik (73·8), the Munda (74·5), the Māle (74·8), the Kharia (74·5), and the Korwa (74·4) are just included in the long headed division ; while for all the others the mean index ranges about 75 and 76. In this part of India the physical conformation of the country, the vast stretches of fever-haunted jungle, the absence of roads, and the compact tribal organization and independent spirit of the Dravidian races have tended to preserve them singularly free from the intrusion of foreign influence, and for these reasons I believe that their measurements may be taken as fairly typical. The seriation given for the Santāls shows how regularly the individual indices are graduated.

(ii) In Southern India the mean proportions of the nose vary from 69·1 in the Lambādis of Mysore and 73·1 in the Vellālas of Madras to 95·1 in the Paniyaṅs of Malabar. In Chutia Nāgpur and Western Bengal the range of variation is less marked, and the mean indices run from 82·6 in the Kurmi of Mānbhum in a gradually ascending series to 94·5 in the Māle of the Santāl Parganas. The Asur figure of 95·9 may be left out of account as it relates only to two subjects. In both regions the mean proportions of the nose correspond in the main to the gradations of social precedence, and such divergencies as occur admit of being plausibly accounted for. At the head of the physical series in Southern India stand the Lambādi with a mean index of 69·1. They do not employ the local Brahmans as priests and their touch is held to convey ceremonial pollution. But there is reason to believe that they are a nomadic people



The origins of these types are hidden in the mist which veils the remote era of the Aryan advance into India.

#### Origins of types

Within that dim region evidence is sought for in vain. Our only guides are tradition and conjecture, aided by the assumption, which the history of the East warrants us in making, that in those distant ages types were formed by much the same processes as those that we find in operation to-day. Such are our materials for a study of the evolution of the Indian people. At the best the picture can present but shadowy outlines. All that can be demanded of it is that it should accord in the main with the scanty data furnished by what passes for history in India, and at the same time should offer a consistent and plausible explanation of the ethnic conditions which prevail at the present time.

The oldest of the seven types is probably the Dravidian. Their low stature, black skin, long heads, broad noses, and relatively long fore-arm distinguish them from the rest of the population and appear at first sight to confirm Huxley's surmise that they may be related to the aborigines of Australia. Linguistic affinities, especially the resemblance between the numerals in Mundāri and in certain Australian dialects, and the survival of some abortive forms of the boomerang in Southern India, have been cited in support of this view, and an appeal has also been made to Sclater's hypothesis of a submerged continent of Lemuria, extending from Madagascar to the Malay Archipelago, and linking India with Africa on the one side and Australia on the other. But Sir William Turner's comparative study of the characters of Australian and Dravidian crania has not led him to the conclusion that these data can be adduced in support of the theory of the unity of the two peoples. The facts which cast doubt on the Australian affinities of the Dravidians finally refute the hasty opinion which seeks to associate them with the tiny, broad-headed, and woolly-haired Negritos of the Andamans and the Philippines. This is the last word of scientific authority, and

#### Dravidian.

here we might leave the subject, were it not that another theory of the origin of the Dravidians was adopted by Sir William Hunter in the account of the non-Aryan races of India given by him in *The Indian Empire*. According to this view there are two branches of the Dravidians—the Kolarians speaking dialects allied to Mundāri, and the Dravidians proper whose languages belong to the Tamil family. The former entered India from the north-east and occupied the northern portion of the Vindhya

facial angle. The stature is high and the general build of the figure is well proportioned, being relatively massive in the Jāts and relatively slender in the Rajputs. Throughout the group the predominant colour of the skin is a very light transparent brown, with a tendency towards darker shades in the lower social strata. Except among the Meos and Minas of Rajputana, where a strain of Bhil blood may perhaps be discerned, the type shows no signs of having been modified by contact with the Dravidians ; its physical characteristics are remarkably uniform ; and the geographical conditions of its habitat tend to exclude the possibility of intermixture with the black races of the south. . In respect of their social characters the Indo-Aryans, as I have ventured to call them, are equally distinct from the bulk of the Indian people. They have not wholly escaped the contagion of caste ; but its bonds are less rigid among them than with the other Indian races ; and the social system retains features which recall the more fluid organization of the tribe. Marriage in particular is not restricted by the hard and fast limits which caste tends to impose, but is regulated within large groups by the principle of hypergamy or 'marrying up' which was supposed to govern the connubial relations of the four original classes (*varna*) in the system described by Manu. Even now Rajputs and Jāts occasionally intermarry, the Rajputs taking wives from the Jāts but refusing to give their own maidens in return. What is the exception to-day is said to have been the rule in earlier times. In short, both social and physical characters are those of a comparatively homogeneous community which has been but little affected by crossing with alien races.

The uniformity of the Indo-Aryan type can be accounted for only by one of two hypotheses (1) that its members were indigenous to the Punjab, (2) that they entered India in a compact body or in a continuous stream of families from beyond the north-west frontier. **The mode of its entry into India.** It is clear that they could not have come by sea, and equally clear that they could not have found their way into India round the Eastern end of the Himalayas. The theory that the Punjab was the cradle of the Aryan race was propounded by a writer in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*\* about fifty years ago on the basis of some rather crude linguistic speculations ; but it met with

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\* J. R. A. S., XVI, 172—200.

deserts of shifting sand ; nor on the dreary Central Asian steppes where only a scanty nomadic population finds a meagre subsistence. But is it certain that during the three or four thousand years that may have elapsed since the Aryans began to press forward into India the climate of the countries through which they passed may not have undergone a material change? There is an appreciable amount of evidence, the value of which I am anxious not to overrate, in favour of this supposition. The late Mr. W. T. Blanford, writing in 1873,\* thought it probable that the rainfall both in Central Asia and Persia had fallen off greatly in modern times, and that owing mainly to this cause, and in a less degree to the destruction of trees and bushes, the climate had become perceptibly drier, cultivation had fallen off and the population had greatly declined in numbers. Nearly thirty years later, we find Mr. Blanford's views confirmed and developed by Mr. E. Vredenburg in his geological sketch of the Baluchistan Desert and part of Eastern Persia.† Mr. Vredenburg applies to the problem the known principles of physical geography and shows how, given a dwindling rainfall in a tract situated like Eastern Persia and Baluchistan, evaporation is bound to produce the present condition of perennial drought. As the rainfall declines fertile plains relapse into deserts ; lakes are transformed into hideous salt marshes ; the springs in the hills dry up and an era of desolation sets in. No human agency, however corrupt, no mere mis-government, however colossal, could bring about such widespread disaster. The village communities, give them but earth and water, would outlast the conqueror and the marauder, as they have done in India. The forces of nature alone could defeat their patient industry. It is the great merit of Mr. Vredenburg's paper that it indicates the true cause of the facts observed and exposes the fallacy of the belief, countenanced by a long series of travellers, that oriental inertia and corruption are solely or chiefly answerable for the present condition of Baluchistan. In illustration of the state of things which must have existed in some former age, he tells us how in the desolate valleys of the State of Khārān there exist hundreds of stone walls, known locally as gorbānds or 'dams of the infidels,' which mark the edges of ancient terraced fields and retain even now remnants of

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\* *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, XXIX (1873).

† *Mem. Geol. Survey of India*, XXXI, Pr. 2.

family or tribal migration and remained open only to bands of fighting men or adventurous nomads, who could force their way through long zones of waterless deserts ending in a maze of robber-haunted hills. Armed invasion took the place of peaceful colonization. But the invaders, however great their strength, could in any case bring relatively few women in their train. This indeed is the determining factor both of the ethnology and of the history of India. As each wave of conquerors, Greek, Scythian, Arab, Moghal, that entered the country by land became more or less absorbed in the indigenous population, their physique degenerated, their individuality vanished, their energy was sapped, and dominion passed from their hands into those of more vigorous successors. *Ex Occidente Imperium*; the genius of Empire in India has come to her from the West; and can be maintained only by constant infusions of fresh blood from the same source.

The scanty glimpses that are obtained of the history of this region in the distant past bear out the conclusions of the scientific observer. Three hundred years before the Christian era, Alexander's lieutenant Krateros conducted half of the army which had invaded India, consisting of some fifty thousand men encumbered with elephants, invalids and heavy baggage, from Quetta to Kandahar and thence by the Helmund Valley to Narmashir in Seistan. The route which he followed crossed the southern end of the Dasht-i-Lut or Desert of Desolation, and traversed nearly two hundred miles of what is now an absolute waste "either waterless or supplied with the most brackish wells."\* Arrian's account of the march makes no mention of disaster, and Krateros appears to have joined Alexander without any material loss either of elephants or invalids. Strabo again, who described Kirman about 20 B. C. in a treatise on geography for the use of Roman administrators, speaks of it as 'a fertile and well-wooded country watered by rivers and producing everything.

Yet when Major Sykes passed through a part of the same tract in 1893-94 he found it covered with ancient ruins and had difficulty in procuring forage for the camels of his small party numbering only about twenty men. Clearly the whole face of the country must have been transformed in the interval. Was this the work of nature or of man? Has the disappearance of the population been

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\* *Explorations in Turkestan, with an Account of the Basin of Eastern Persia and Seistan*. Expedition of 1903, under the direction of Raphael Pumpelly; Washington, 1905.

climate in Central Asia to which we have referred above, made their way into India through Gilgit and Chitral and established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and Jumna, the sacred Middle-land (*Madhyadesa*) of Vedic tradition. Here they came in contact with the Dravidians; here by the stress of that contact, caste was evolved; here the Vedas were composed and the whole fantastic structure of orthodox ritual and usage was built up. For the linguistic evidence in favour of this view I must refer the reader to Dr. Grierson's chapter on language in the Report on the Census of India, 1901. For my present purpose it is sufficient to note that the record of physical characters bears out the conclusions suggested by philology. The type of the people now dwelling in the Middle-land is precisely what might have been expected to result from the incursion of a fair long-headed race, travelling by a route which prevented women from accompanying them, into a land inhabited by dark-skinned Dravidians. The men of the stronger race took to themselves the women of the weaker, and from these unions was evolved the mixed type which we find in Hindustan and Bihar. The degree of intermixture varied to the extent indicated in the tables of measurements; at one end of the scale the type approaches the Indo-Aryan, at the other it almost merges in the Dravidian.

It may be said that the theory of a second wave of Aryans, resting as it does on the somewhat uncertain data of philology, is not really required for the purpose of explaining the facts. Why should we not content ourselves by assuming that the original Indo-Aryans outgrew their settlements on the Indus and threw off swarms of emigrants who passed down the Ganges valley, modifying their type as they went by alliances with the Dravidian inhabitants? But on this view of the problem it is difficult to account for the marked divergence of type that distinguishes the people of the Eastern Punjab from the people of Western Hindustan. If there had been no second and distinct incursion coming in like a wedge behind the original colonists, no such sharp contrast would now be discernible. One type would melt into the other by imperceptible gradations, and scientific observation and popular impressions would not concur, as they do, in affirming that a marked change takes place somewhere about the longitude of Sirhind—a name which itself preserves the tradition of an ethnic frontier. Nor is this the only point in favour of Dr. Hoernle's hypothesis. That theory further explains how it is that the Vedic hymns contain no reference to the

from Chinese sources supplemented by the evidence of coins and the uncertain testimony of Indian tradition, that long after the settlement of the Indo-Aryans in the Punjab successive swarms of nomadic people, vaguely designated Sakās or Scythians, forced a way into India from the west, and established their dominion over portions of the Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana, and Central India. The impulse which started them on their wanderings may be traced in some instances to tribal upheavals in far distant China, while in other cases hordes already on the move were pushed forward from Central Asia. All these people came from regions which, so far as we know, have from time immemorial been occupied by broad-headed races.

In the time of the Achæmenian kings of Persia the Scythians, who were known to the Chinese as Ssē, occupied the regions lying between the lower course of the Sillis or Jaxartes and Lake Balkash. We learn from Herodotus that according to the opinion of classical antiquity these Scythians were riding people who wore breeches and used bows of a fashion of their own. It may be gathered from other sources that their empire extended up to the plains of Eastern Turkestan. In the sixth century B.C. the Scythians, who were then renowned for their valour and their riches, came within the scope of the ambitious policy of Cyrus. Their king Amorges was made prisoner, but Sparethra, his wife, rallied the remains of the army, repulsed the Persians, and compelled them to surrender her husband in exchange for the prisoners she had taken. Notwithstanding this temporary success, the Scythians were nevertheless recognised as tributaries of the Persians, and the portion of Turkestan which they occupied formed the twentieth Satrapy of the Persian Empire. Later on they seem to have regained their independence, for at the battle of Arbela we find them fighting on the Persian side no longer as subjects but allies. The fragments of early Scythian history which may be collected from classical writers are supplemented by the Chinese annals which tell us how the Ssē, originally located in

*Its possible origin.*

Southern China, occupied Sogdiana and Transoxiana at the time of the establishment of the Græco-Bactrian monarchy about the year 165 B.C. Dislodged from these regions by the Yuechi, who had themselves been put to flight by the Huns, the Ssē invaded Bactriana, an enterprise in which they were frequently allied with the Parthians. To this circumstance, says Uajflvy, may be due the resemblance which exists between the

Just at the time when the Kushans were establishing themselves in Gandhāra, the Ephthalites or Hoa of the Chinese annals, who were then settled on the north of the Great Wall of China, being driven out of their territory by the Juan-Juan, started westward and overran in succession Sogdiana, Khwarizm, Bactriana, and finally the north-west portion of India. Their invading movements reached India in the reign of Skanda Gupta, 452—480, and brought about the disruption of the Gupta Empire. The Ephthalites were known in India as Huns. The leader of the invasion of India, who succeeded in snatching Gandhāra from the Kushans, and established his capital at Sakala, is called by the Chinese Laelih, and the inscriptions enable us to identify him with the original Lakhan Udayaditya of the coins. His son Toramana (490—515) took possession of Gujarat, Rajputana and a portion of the Ganges valley, and in this way the Huns came into possession of the ancient Gupta Kingdom. Toramana's successor Mihirakula (515—544) added at the beginning of his reign Kashmir to his kingdom, but eventually succumbed to the combined attack of a confederation of the Hindu princes of Malwa and Magadha.

These are the historical data. Scanty as they are, they serve to establish the fact that during a long period of time swarms of nomadic people, whose outlandish names are conveniently summed up in the generic term Scythian, poured into India, conquered and governed. Their coins are now the sole memorial of their rule, but their inroads probably began many centuries before coins were struck or annals compiled. Of the people themselves all traces seem to have vanished, and the student who enquires what has become of them finds nothing more tangible than the modern conjecture that they are represented by the Jāts and Rajputs. But the grounds for this opinion are of the flimsiest description and consist mainly of the questionable assumption that the people who are called Jāts at the present day must have something to do with the people who were known to Herodotus as Getae. Now apart from the fact that resemblances of names are mostly misleading—witness the Roman identification of these very Getae with the Goths—we have good historical reasons for believing that the Scythian invaders of India came from a region occupied exclusively by broad-headed races and must themselves have belonged to that type. They were, by all accounts, nations or hordes of horsemen, with broad faces and high cheek-bones, short and sturdy of stature, and skilled in the use of the bow. In

an enduring dominion ; and finally the individuality of character and tenacity of purpose which distinguish them at the present day—all these may be regarded as part of the inheritance which has come to them from their Scythian ancestors.

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The *Dravidian* tribe exists in its most compact and vigorous form among the people of Chutia Nāgpur. The Dravidian tribe Descriptions of two typical instances are given in the appendix under the heads of Munda and Santāl. Such a tribe is generally divided into a number of exogamous groups, each of which bears the name of an animal or plant common in the locality. Usually also there is a distinct village organization comprising in its most developed forms a headman with his assistant and a priest with various acolytes whose business it is to propitiate the various undefined powers from whom physical ills are to be apprehended. Another remarkable instance of the tribal organization of the Dravidians is to be found among the Kandhs or Kondhs of the Orissa Kandh Māls, once infamous for the human sacrifices which they offered to the earth goddess with the object of ensuring good crops and immunity from disease and accidents. A grim memorial of these forgotten horrors is to be seen in the Madras Museum in the form of a rude representation in wood of the head and trunk of an elephant pivoted on a stout post. To this the victim was bound head downwards and the machine was slowly turned round in the centre of a crowd of worshippers who hacked and tore away scraps of flesh to bury in their fields, chanting the while a ghastly hymn an extract from which illustrates very clearly the theory of sympathetic magic underlying the ritual—

As the tears stream from thine eyes,  
 So may the rain pour down in August ;  
 As the mucus trickles from thy nostrils,  
 So may it drizzle at intervals ;  
 As thy blood gushes forth,  
 So may the vegetation sprout ;  
 As thy gore falls in drops,  
 So may the grains of rice form.

A number of these wooden elephants, which had been used at sacrifices, were found and burnt by the British officers who put down human sacrifice in the Kandh country. The worm-eaten specimen at Madras is probably unique. The Kandhs are divided into 50 *gochis* or exogamous sects, each of which bears the name of a *muta* or village, believes all its members to be descended from a common ancestor, and as a rule dwells as a body of blood-relations in the commune or group of villages after which it is called. The Kandh *gochi* appears, therefore, to represent the nearest approach

upon which the tribe is based that the alien origin of the *Hamsayah* is admitted with reluctance, and although for matrimonial purposes they are looked upon as inferior, the tendency is continually to merge the fact of common vendetta in the fiction of common blood. These are the two leading principles which go to the making of an Afghan tribe. There are also—Mr. Hughes-Buller explains—“two other ties which unite the smaller groups: common pasture, or, more important still, common land and water, and common inheritance. The area occupied by each section can be pretty easily localised, and a group which separates itself permanently from the parent stock and makes its way to a remote locality, where it either sets up for itself or joins some other tribe, ceases to have any part or portion with the parent stock. Here the test question is: ‘Has the individual or group on separating from the parent stock, departed only temporarily or permanently?’ For, among a population largely composed of graziers, there must be constant fission, groups leaving the locality of the majority for other places as pasture or water are required for the flocks. Where the change is only temporary, groups retain as a matter of course their union with the group to which they belong. There are others, however, who wish to sever their connection with the parent group permanently, and, once this has been done, the idea of participation in the common good and ill of the parent stock disappears. Common inheritance can, in the nature of things, only be shared by the more minute groups, and this, in the absence of blood-feud, is the bond of unity in the family or *Kahol*. And this leads me to explain that all the four principles which I have mentioned do not affect every group equally. Thus, the smaller groups or *Kahols*, which in most cases correspond with the family, are united by kinship and common inheritance, but within the family group there can be no blood-feud. For blood-feud can only be carried on when help is given from outside, and no one will help the murderer within the family. Leaving the lowest group, we find that common good and ill, merging in the fiction of kinship, is the influence affecting all the groups, even the largest unit, of the tribe. Common land and water are only shared by comparatively minute groups, *i.e.*, by the *Khel* or *Zai*, but the groups united by common locality, and possibly by common grazing, are both numerous and large.”

(b) The second type of Turko-Iranian tribe is based, primarily, not upon agnatic kinship, but upon common good and ill; in other

or perhaps one should rather say the loan, for, in the absence of stipulations to the contrary, a woman so given goes back to her own family on the death of her husband. Among the Baloch and Brāhui however, a distinct tendency towards endogamy results from the practice of marrying a woman of the same group, a near kinswoman, or, if possible, a first cousin. This seems to be due partly to the feeling that a woman's marriage to an outsider deprives the tribe of the accession of strength that may accrue to it from her offspring; and partly also to the belief that "while among animals heredity follows the father, among human beings it follows the mother. It is argued, therefore, that there is more hope of the stock remaining pure if a man marries a woman who is nearly related to him." In marked contrast to the Baloch and Brāhui, the business instincts of the Afghan lead him to regard women as a marketable commodity, and under the system of *walwar* or payment for wives "girls are sold to the highest bidder, no matter what his social status." It is possible, however, that in a tribe of comparatively homogeneous descent the sentiment in favour of purity of blood may operate less strongly than in a tribe of admittedly composite structure.

We shall see in a later chapter, how the word *fetish*, which has had a great vogue in the history of religion, owes its origin to the Portuguese navigators who were brought into contact with the strange religious observances of the natives of west Africa. In the same way *caste*, which has obtained an equally wide currency in the literature of sociology, comes from the Portuguese adventurers who followed Vasco de Gama to the west coast of India. The word itself is derived from the Latin *castus* and implies purity of breed. In his article on caste in Hobson-Jobson, Sir Henry Yule quotes a decree of the sacred council of Goa dated 1567, which recites how in some parts of that province "the Gentoos divide themselves into distinct races or castes (*castas*) of greater or less dignity, holding the Christians as of lower degree, and keep these so superstitiously that no one of a higher caste can eat or drink with those of a lower." From that time to this it has been assumed without much critical examination that the essential principle of caste is mainly concerned with matters of eating and drinking. It need not surprise us to find foreign observers laying stress upon the superficial aspects of a social system which they understood but imperfectly, and over-

no experience of India even an approximate idea of the extraordinary complexity of the social system which is involved in the word caste. At the risk of being charged with frivolity I shall, therefore, venture on an illustration, based on one which I published in *Blackwood's Magazine* a good many years ago, of a caste expressed in terms of an English social group. Let us take an instance, and, in order to avoid the fumes of bewilderment that are thrown off by uncouth names, let us frame it on English lines. Let us imagine the great tribe of Smith, the 'noun of multitude,' as a famous headmaster used to call it, to be transformed by art-magic into a caste organized on the Indian model, in which all the subtle *nuances* of social merit and demerit which *Punch* and the society papers love to chronicle should have been set and hardened into positive regulations affecting the intermarriage of families. The caste thus formed would trace its origin back to a mythical eponymous ancestor, the first Smith who converted the rough stone hatchet into the bronze battle-axe and took his name from the "smooth"\* weapons that he wrought for his tribe. Bound together by this tie of common descent, they would recognize as the cardinal doctrine of their community the rule that a Smith must always marry a Smith, and could by no possibility marry a Brown, a Jones, or a Robinson. But over and above this general canon three other modes or principles of grouping within the caste would be conspicuous. First of all, the entire caste of Smith would be split up into an indefinite number of "in-marrying" clans based upon all sorts of trivial distinctions. Brewing Smiths and baking Smiths, hunting Smiths and shooting Smiths, temperance Smiths and licensed-victuallers Smiths, Smiths with double-barrelled names and hyphens, Smiths with double-barrelled names without hyphens, Conservative Smiths, Radical Smiths, tinker Smiths, tailor Smiths, Smiths of Mercia, Smiths of Wessex—all these and all other imaginable varieties of the tribe Smith would be as it were crystalised by an inexorable law forbidding the members of any of these groups to marry beyond the circle marked out by the clan name. Thus the Unionist Mr. Smith could only marry a Unionist Miss Smith, and might not think of a Home Rule damsel; the free trade Smiths would have nothing to say to the tariff reformers; a hyphen-Smith could only marry a hyphen-Smith and so on. Secondly, within each class enquiry would disclose a number of 'out-marrying'

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\* Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary* s. v. Smith.

marrying clans would be precluded from dining together, and their possibilities of reciprocal entertainment would be limited to those products of the confectioner's shop into the composition of which water, the most fatal and effective vehicle of ceremonial impurity, had not entered. Water pollutes wholesale, but its power as a conductor of malign influence admits of being neutralised by a sufficient admixture of milk, curds, whey, or clarified butter—in fact of anything that comes from the sacred cow. It would follow from this that the members of our imaginary caste could eat chocolates and other forms of sweetmeats together, but could not drink tea or coffee, and could only partake of ices if they were made with cream and were served on metal, not porcelain, plates. I am sensible of having trenched on the limits of literary and scientific propriety in attempting to describe an ancient and famous institution in unduly vivacious language, but the parallel is as accurate as any parallel drawn from the other end of the world can well be, and it has the advantage of being presented in terms familiar to European readers. The illustration, indeed, may be carried a step further. If we suppose the various aggregates of persons bearing the two or three thousand commonest English surnames to be formed into separate castes and organized on the lines described above, so that no one could marry outside the caste-name and could only marry within that limit subject to the restrictions imposed by differences of residence, occupation, religion, custom, social status and the like—the mental picture thus formed will give a fairly adequate idea of the bewildering complexity of the Indian caste system.

All over India at the present moment tribes are gradually and insensibly being transformed into castes.

**Conversion of tribes into castes.** The stages of this operation are in themselves difficult to trace. The main agency at work is fiction, which in this instance takes the form of the pretence that whatever usage prevails to-day did not come into existence yesterday, but has been so from the beginning of time. It may be hoped that the Ethnographic Survey now in progress will throw some light upon the singular course of evolution by which large masses of people surrender a condition of comparative freedom and take in exchange a condition which becomes more burdensome in proportion as its status is higher. So far as my own observation goes several distinct processes are involved in the movement, and these proceed independently in different places and at different times.

the snake king, being bound by the same condition as his Teutonic prototype, could only disclose his origin at the cost of separation from his wife. Accordingly, by a device familiar to Indian husbands, he diverted her attention by proposing to take her on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Jagannath at Puri in Orissa. The couple started by the direct route through the hills and forests of Chutia Nāgpur, and when they reached the neighbourhood of the present station of Rānchi the wife was seized by the pains of childbirth. Her curiosity revived, and she began to ask questions. By folk-lore etiquette questions asked on such an occasion must be answered, and her husband was compelled to explain that he was really the Takshak Raja, the king of the snakes. Having divulged this fatal secret he did not, like Lohengrin, make a dignified exit to the strains of slow music. He straightway turned into a gigantic cobra, whereupon his wife was delivered of a male child and died. The poor snake made the best of the trying position in which he found himself; he spread his hood and sheltered the infant from the rays of the mid-day sun. While he was thus occupied, some wood-cutters of the Munda tribe appeared upon the scene and decided that a child discovered in such remarkable circumstances must be destined to a great future and should at once be adopted as their chief. That is the family legend of the Nāgbansi Rajas of Chutia Nāgpur. It was received with derisive merriment by a number of genuine Rajputs who attended a conference which I held at Mount Abu in 1900 for the purpose of organizing the census of Rajputana. They had never heard of such a thing as a Nāgbansi Rajput, but they entirely appreciated the point of the story. Similar tales, associated sometimes with a peacock, sometimes with a cow, sometimes with other animals or trees, are told of various land-owning families which have attained brevet rank as local Rajputs. Anyone who has the curiosity to inquire into the distribution of tenures on the estates of these manufactured Rajputs will usually find that a number of the best villages lying round the residence of the Chief are held on peppercorn rents by the descendants of the Brahmans who helped him to his miraculous pedigree.

(2) A number of aborigines, as we may conveniently call them, though the term begs an insoluble question, embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name and becoming Vaishnavas, Lingayats, Rāmāyats, or the like. Whether there is any mixture of blood or not will depend upon local circumstances and the rules of the sect regarding intermarriage. Anyhow, the

worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women) and the more advanced among them employ Brahmans as family priests. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous sub-divisions closely resembling those of the Mundas and the Santāls. But they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the sub-divisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste in the full sense of the word, and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent. The physical characteristics of its members will alone survive. With their transformation into a caste the Bhumij will be more strictly endogamous than they were as a tribe, and even less likely to modify their physical type by inter-marriage with other races.

By such processes as these, and by a variety of complex social influences whose working cannot be precisely traced, a number of types or varieties of caste have been formed which admit of being grouped as follows :—

#### Types of Caste.

- (i) *The tribal type*, where a tribe like the Bhumij referred to above has insensibly been converted into a caste, preserving its original name and many of its

#### (i) Tribal castes.

characteristic customs, but modifying its animistic practices more and more in the direction of orthodox Hinduism and ordering its manner of life in accordance with the same model. Numerous instances of this process are to be found all over India ; it has been at work for centuries and it has even been supposed that the Sudras of Indo-Aryan tradition were originally a Dravidian tribe which was thus incorporated into the social system of the conquering race. Considerations of space preclude me from attempting an exhaustive enumeration of the castes which may plausibly be described as tribes absorbed into Hinduism, but I may mention as illustrations of the transformation that has taken place, the Ahir, Dom, and Dosādh of the United Provinces and Bihar ; the Gujar, Jāt, Meo, and Rajput of Rajputana and the Punjab ; the Koli, Mahār, and Marāṭha of Bombay ; the Bagdī, Bāuri, Chandāl (Nāmasudra), Kaibartta, Pod, and Rājansi-Kochh of Bengal ; and in Madras the Māl, Nāyar, Vellāla, and Paraiyan or Pariah, of whom the last retain traditions of a time when they possessed an independent organisation of their own and had not been relegated to a low place in the Hindu social system.

the camp and keep off the rain. This the Garpagāri did, and watched through the night. In the event the rain held off, the camp moved, and that Garpagāri's reputation was established for life.\* Changes of occupation in their turn, more especially among the lower castes, tend to bring about the formation of separate castes. The Sadgops of Bengal have within recent times taken to agriculture and broken away from the pastoral caste to which they originally belonged; the educated Kaibarttas and Pods are in course of separating themselves from their brethren who have not learnt English; the Madhunāpit are barbers who became confectioners; the Chāsadhobas washermen who took to agriculture. But perhaps the best illustration of the contagious influence of the fiction that differences of occupation imply a difference of blood is to be found in the list of Musalman castes enumerated by Mr. Gait in the Bengal Census Report of 1901. This motley company includes the Abdāl of Northern and Eastern Bengal, who circumcise Muhammadan boys and castrate animals, while their women act as midwives; the Bhatiyāra or inn-keepers of Bihar; the butchers (Chik and Kasāi); the drummers (Nāgarchi and Dafāli), of whom the latter exorcise evil spirits and avert the evil eye by beating a drum (*daf*) and also officiate as priests at the marriages and funerals of people who are too poor to pay the regular Qāzi; the cotton-carders (Dhunīa or Nadāf) numbering 200,000 in Bengal; the barbers (Hajjām or Turk-Nāia); the Jolāha weavers, cultivators, bookbinders, tailors, and dyers numbering nearly a quarter of a million in Bengal and nearly three millions in India; the oil-pressers (Kalu); the green-grocers (Kunjra); the embroiderers (Patwa) and a number of minor groups. All of these bodies are castes of the standard Hindu type with governing committees (*pañchāyats* or *mātbars*) of their own who organize strikes and see that no member of the caste engages in a degrading occupation, works for lower wages than his brethren, eats forbidden food, or marries a woman of another caste. Breaches of these and various other unwritten ordinances are visited in the last resort by the extreme penalty of excommunication. This means that no one will eat or smoke with the offender, visit at his house, or marry his daughter, while in extreme cases he is deprived of the services of the barber and the washerman.

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\* Census Report of the Central Provinces, 1901



Srāvaka (Sanskrit 'hearer'), the designation of the Jain laity ; they are strict vegetarians, never eating flesh, and on no account taking life, and if in preparing their food any mention is made of the word 'cutting,' the omen is deemed so disastrous that everything must be thrown away. In Orissa they call themselves Buddhists and assemble once a year at the famous cave temples of Khandagiri near Cuttack to make offerings to the Buddhist images there and to confer on religious matters. But these survivals of their ancient faith have not saved them from the all-pervading influence of caste. They have split up into endogamous groups based partly on locality and partly on the fact that some of them have taken to the degraded occupation of weaving, and they now form a Hindu caste of the ordinary type. The same fate has befallen the Gharbāri Atiths, the Sānnyāsi, the Jugis, the Jāti-Baishtams of Bengal, the Bānhra of Nepal—Newārs who were originally Buddhist priests but abandoned celibacy and crystallized into a caste—and the Bishnois and Sadhs of the United Provinces. The Bishnois of Rohilkhand, says Mr. Burn,\* are divided into nine endogamous groups or sub-castes 'called after the castes from which they were recruited. New converts take their place in the appropriate sub-castes.' In the case of the Sādhs 'recruits are no longer admitted, and it is peculiar that no endogamous or exogamous divisions exist, the only restriction on marriage being that intermarriage is forbidden between two families as long as the recollection of a former marriage connexion between them remains. The instance is of special interest as the equality maintained by the tenets of the sect, which has developed into a caste, has not yet been destroyed, as is usual in such cases.' A still more remarkable, because a more modern, case is mentioned by Sir Henry Cotton, who states that 'the more self-assertive portion of the Brahmo community' appears to be 'in the course of forming' a new caste. All these curious developments serve to illustrate the comparatively insignificant part that religion has played in the shaping of the caste system, and the strength of the tendency to *morcellement*, to splitting up into fractional groups, that is characteristic of Hindu society. So long as the sectarian instinct confines itself to expressing a mere predilection for one god rather than another, or simply develops a new cult, however fantastic, which permits men to indulge in the luxury of religious eccentricity without quitting the

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\* Census Report of the United Provinces, 1901.

survivals from the Hindu customs of betrothal and marriage. These include the formal bathing of the betrothed couple, the giving of a dinner to the poor for the benefit of the deceased ancestors of the family, the tying of a *tālī* or lucky necklace ( which sometimes has a cross or a figure of the infant Jesus as a pendant ) round the bride's neck, the exchange of presents, and the formal transfer of the bride to her husband's family.

Further south in the little State of Cochin on the Malabar coast, where Christianity has been established for many centuries and is believed by some authorities to date from apostolic times, a different principle has asserted itself. In the course of ages, disputes as to theological doctrine, ecclesiastical ritual, or spiritual supremacy have led to the formation among the non-Protestant Christians in Cochin of a number of sects—the Roman Catholics of the Latin rite, who use the Liturgy of the Romish Church in Latin, and are further sub-divided into the Three Hundred, the Five Hundred, and the Seven Hundred, obscure schisms possibly derived merely from the number of families that were converted by the Portuguese missionaries on successive occasions ; the Roman Catholics of the Syrian rite, who use the Romish Liturgy in ancient Syriac ; the Chaldean Syrians, who are under the Patriarch of Babylon and differ in several minute points of ritual from the Romo-Syrians ; the Jacobite Syrians, who are under the Patriarch of Antioch ; and the Reformed or St. Thomas Syrians, an offshoot of the Jacobites who recognise the supremacy neither of the Pope nor of the Patriarch of Antioch and obey a Bishop of their own. These last have come to some extent under Protestant influence, and they insist upon the title of St. Thomas Syrians as marking their close adherence to the teaching and ritual of the apostolic age. They deny that the Bible should be interpreted by the traditions of the Church ; they reject confession, absolution, fasting, the invocation of Saints, and the veneration of relics ; they object to masses for the dead and dispute the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Of these seven sects the first five appear to have crystallised into regular castes between the members of which no intermarriage is possible. The two branches of the Jacobite Syrians still intermarry, subject to a further distinction between residents of the northern and southern divisions of the State, the former of whom claim to be superior to the latter on the ground of their descent from the first colonists from Syria.

(iv) *Castes formed by crossing*.—Modern criticism has been especially active in its attacks on that portion of the traditional theory

point to be observed is that the sub-tribes formed by inter-tribal crossing are from an early stage complete endogamous units, and that they tend continually to sever their slender connection with the parent group, and stand forth as independent tribes. As soon as this comes to pass, and a functional or territorial name disguises their mixed descent, the process by which they have been formed is seen to resemble closely that by which the standard Indian tradition seeks to explain the appearance of other castes alongside of the classical four.

Within the limits of the regular caste system Mr. Gait mentions the Shāgirdpeshās of Bengal as a true caste "which takes its origin from miscegenation, and which is still adding to its numbers in the same way. Amongst the members of the higher castes of Orissa who do not allow widow remarriage, and also amongst the Kāyasth immigrants from Bengal it is a common practice to take as maid-servants and concubines women belonging to the lower clean castes, such as Chāsa and Bhandāri. The offspring of these maid-servants are known as Shāgirdpeshā. They form a regular caste of the usual type and are divided into endogamous groups with reference to the caste of the male parent. Kāyasth Shāgirdpeshās will not intermarry with Karan Shāgirdpeshās, nor Rajput Shāgirdpeshās (their number is very small) with those of Kāyasth origin, but intermarriage between the Shāgirdpeshās of Karan and of Khandāit descent sometimes takes place, just as such marriages sometimes occur between persons belonging to the castes to which they owe their origin. The caste of the mother makes no difference in the rank of the children, but those who can count several generations from their original progenitor rank higher than those in whose case the stigma of illegitimacy is more recent.

The word Shāgirdpeshā, which is commonly pronounced Sāgar-peshā, means servant, and is applied with reference to the traditional occupation, which is domestic service. It is said that the word should properly be confined to the offspring of Bengali Kāyasths, and that the illegitimate children of Karans and other castes of Orissa should be called Krishnapakshi, or Antarpua, or, again, Antarkaran, Antarkhandāit, etc. This distinction, however, is not observed in practice. The relationship between the legitimate children of a man of good caste and their bastard brothers and sisters is recognised, but the latter cannot eat with the former, hence they are called *bhātāntar*, or separated by rice. They are entitled to maintenance,

of a Brahman and a Mlechha—must, on the contrary, be raised to eminence in the new order of things proposed to be introduced by their fathers. To this progeny also, then, the Brahmans, in still greater defiance of their creed, communicated the rank of the second order of Hinduism ; and from these two roots, mainly, sprung the now numerous, predominant, and extensively ramified tribe of the Khas, originally the name of a small clan of creedless barbarians, now the proud title of the Kshatriyas, or military order of the kingdom of Nepal. The offspring of original Khas females and of Brahmans, with the honours and rank of the second order of Hinduism, got the patronymic titles of the first order, and hence the key to the anomalous nomenclature of so many *stirpes* of the military tribes of Nepal is to be sought in the nomenclature of the sacred order. It may be added, as remarkably illustrative of the lofty spirit of the *Parbattias*, that in spite of the yearly increasing sway of Hinduism in Nepal, and of the various attempts of the Brahmans in high office to procure the abolition of a custom so radically opposed to the creed both parties now profess, the Khas still insist that the fruit of commerce (marriage is out of the question) between their females and males of the sacred order shall be ranked as Kshatriyas, wear the thread, and assume the patronymic title.” The Khas now call themselves Chattris or Kshatriyas—a practice which, according to Colonel Vansittart,\* dates from Sir Jang Bahadur’s visit to England in 1850. Allied to the Khas are the Ektharia and the Thākurs, both of Rajput parentage on the male side, the Thākur ranking higher because their ancestors are supposed to have been rulers of various petty States in Nepal. The Matwāla Khas, again, are the progeny of Khas men and Magar women, and the Uchai Thākurs are of the same lineage on the female side.

The Sudra caste of Eastern Bengal, the Rājbandi Baruas of Chittagong, believed to be the offspring of Burmese fathers and Bengali mothers, the Vidurs of the Central Provinces, who claim Brahman parentage on the male side and, though now marrying among themselves, still receive into their community the children of mixed unions between Brahmans and women of other castes, are minor instances of the same process. The Boria caste of Assam is said by Mr. Allen† to comprise the offspring of Brahman and Ganak widows and their descendants, and the children of Brahmans who

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\* Notes on Nepal, 1896, p. 89.

† Census Report of Assam, 1901.

1,102,000 in Hyderabad, 81,000 in Madras, 53,000 in Mysore, 34,000 in the Central Provinces, the same number in Central India, and nearly 27,000 in Berar. According to Mr. Enthoven,\* the Bombay Marāthas "may be classified as a tribe with two divisions, Marātha and Marātha Kunbi, of which the former are hypergamous to the latter, but were not originally distinct. It remains to be explained that the Kunbis also consist of two divisions, Desh Kunbis numbering 1,900,000, and Konkani Kunbis, of which there are 350,000 recorded. Inter-marriage between these divisions is not usual. The barrier, however, seems to be purely geographical. It may not withstand the altered conditions due to improvements in communications, and it is not apparently based on any religious prohibition of inter-marriages. The fact that the Kunbis consist of two branches must, however, be borne in mind in attempting to arrive at a correct description of the tribal configuration." The highest class of Marāthas is supposed to consist of ninety-six families, who profess to be of Rajput descent and to represent the Kshatriyas of the traditional system. They wear the sacred thread, marry their daughters before puberty, and forbid widows to marry again. But their claim to kinship with the Rajputs is effectually refuted by the anthropometric data now published, and by the survival among them of *kuldevaks* or totems, such as the sun-flower, the *kadamba* tree (*Nauclea Kadamba*), the mango, the conch-shell, the peacock's feather, and turmeric, which are worshipped at marriages and at the ceremony of dedicating a new house, while their close connection with the Kunbis is attested by the fact that they take Kunbi girls as wives, though they do not give their own daughters to Kunbi men. A wealthy Kunbi, however, occasionally gains promotion to and marries into the higher grade and claims brevet rank as a Kshatriya. The fact seems to be that the ninety-six superior families represent Kunbis who came to the front during the decline of the Moghal Empire, won for themselves princedoms or estates, claimed the rank of landed gentry, and asserted their dignity by refusing their daughters to their less distinguished brethren.

(vi) Castes formed by migration.—If members of a caste leave their original habitat and settle permanently in another part of India, the tendency is for them to be separated from the parent group and to develop into a distinct

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\* Census Report of Bombay, 1901.

which the people of this tract are held by their neighbours, finds expression in the following depreciatory verses :—

*Wah har Chhattisgarh desh,  
Jahān Gond har naresh,  
Niche bursi upar khāt,  
Lagā har chongi kā thāt,  
Pahile jutā piche bāt,  
Tab āwe Chhattisgarh hāt.*

which may be rendered thus :—

“ This is Chhattisgarh, where the Gond is king of the jungle,  
Under his bed is a fire, for he cannot pay for a blanket ;  
Nor for a hookah indeed,—a leaf-pipe holds his tobacco.  
Kick him soundly first and then he will do what you tell him.”

The verses reflect the intolerant and domineering attitude of the Indo-Aryan towards the Dravidian, of the high-caste man towards the low, that has been characteristic of Indian society from the earliest times down to the present day.

A good illustration of the formation of a caste by migration is to be found in the traditions of the Nambudri or Namputiri Brahmans of Malabar. These Brahmans claim to have come to the west coast from various sacred localities in Kathiawar and the northern Deccan ; Mr. Fawcett describes them as “ the truest Aryans in Southern India ; ” and their complexion and features seem to lend some support to the tradition which assigns to them a foreign origin. Whatever their original stock may have been, they are now an entirely separate caste differing from the Brahmans of other parts of India by their systematic practice of polygamy ; by their rejection of infant marriage ; by their restriction of marriage to the eldest son, the other brothers entering into polyandrous relations with Nāyar women ; and by the curious custom of ceremonial fishing which forms part of their marriage ritual. Another instance of the same process is furnished by the Rārihi Brahmans of Bengal. The current legend is that early in the eleventh century A.D., Adisura or Adisvara, Raja of Bengal, finding the Brahmans then settled in his dominions too ignorant to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies, applied to the Raja of Kanauj for priests conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In answer to his request there were sent to him five Brahmans of Kanauj, one of them a son of the Raja, who brought with them their wives, their sacred fire, and their sacrificial implements. It is said that Adisura was at first disposed to treat them with scanty respect, but he was soon compelled to acknowledge his mistake and to make terms with people who had a monopoly of the

themselves as Barwaiks and the designation, being unknown in the Census office, was referred to the district officer for explanation. It was stated in reply that the Barwaiks were a clan of Rajputs from Orissa who had come to Nāgpur in the train of the Bhonsla Rajas and had taken military service under them. Now in Chutia Nāgpur the Baraiks or Chik-Baraiks are a sub-caste of the Pans—the helot weavers and basket-makers who perform a variety of servile functions for the organized Dravidian tribes and used to live in a kind of Ghetto in the villages of the Kandhs (Khonds) for whom they purveyed children destined for human sacrifice and, when they had failed to steal other people's children, sold their own for this ghastly purpose. Mr. Russell observes that “though it is possible that the coincidence may be accidental, still there seems good reason to fear that it is from these humble beginnings that the Barwaik sect of Rajputs in Chanda must trace its extraction. And it is clear that before the days of railways and the half-anna post an imposture of this sort must have been practically impossible of detection.” The conjecture seems a plausible one, and the fact that Baraik is a title actually in use among the Jadubansi Rajputs may have helped the Pans to establish their fictitious rank.

(vii) *Castes formed by changes of custom.*—The formation of new castes as a consequence of the neglect of established usage or the adoption of new ceremonial practices or secular occupations has been a familiar incident of the caste system from the earliest times. We are told in Manu how men of the three twice-born castes, who have not received the sacrament of initiation at the proper time, or who follow forbidden occupations, become Vrātyas or outcasts, intercourse with whom is punished with a double fine, and whose descendants are graded as distinct castes. Living as a Vrātya is a condition involving of itself exclusion from the original caste, and a Brahman who performs sacrifices for such persons has to do penance. The idea of such changes of status is inherent in the system, and illustrations of its application are plentiful. Sometimes it figures in the traditions of a caste under the form of a claim to a more distinguished origin than is admitted by current opinion. The Skanda Purana, for example, recounts an episode in Parasu Rāma's raid upon the Kshatriyas, the object of which is to show that the Kāyasths are by birth Kshatriyas of full blood, who by reason of their observing the ceremonies of the Sudras are called Vrātya or incomplete Kshatriyas. The Bābhans or Bhuinhārs of the United Provinces and

in deference to the strength of caste-feeling and because the change in their customs was then too recent for the name to have fallen into disuse, yet had, for all purposes of equality, communion, or intermarriage, ceased to be Rajputs since they took to *karewa* or widow marriage. And the distinction between the Jāts and Rajputs, both sprung from a common Indo-Aryan stock, is marked by the fact that the former practise and the latter abstain from a usage which more than any other is regarded as a crucial test of relative social position. In allusion to this fact one of the rhyming proverbs of the Punjab makes a Jāt father say—‘Come my daughter and be married; if this husband dies there are plenty more.’ The same test applies in the Kāngra Hills, the most exclusive Hindu portion of the Punjab, where Musalman domination was never fully established, and the Brahman and Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those assigned to them by Manu. Here the line between the Thakkar and Rāthi castes, both belonging to the lower classes of Hill Rajputs, is said to consist in the fact that Rāthis do and Thakkars do not ordinarily practise widow marriage.

In Southern India movements of the same sort may be observed. Among the begging castes which form nearly one per cent of the population of the Tamil country in Madras, the Pandarams rank highest in virtue of their abstention from meat and alcohol and more especially of their prohibition of widow marriage. The Pancharamkatti division of the Idaiyan shepherd caste allow widow marriage but connect it with the peculiar neck ornament which their women wear, and say that “Krishna used to place a similar ornament round the necks of the Idaiyan widows of whom he was enamoured, to transform them from widows into married women to whom pleasure was not forbidden.” The story seems to be an *ex post facto* apology for the practice. The Jatāpu again, a branch of the Kandh (Kondh) tribe which has developed into a separate caste, are beginning to discourage widow marriage by way of emphasising the distinction between themselves and their less civilised brethren. In Baroda, according to Mr. Dalāl, widow marriage is allowed by some degraded sub-castes of Brahmans, Tapodhan, Vyās Sārasvat, Rajgor, Bhojak, Tragala and Koligor, which are virtually distinct castes, and also by the Kāthis, Marāthas, Rajputs, Tāghers, and Vadhels. “The higher families, among castes allowing remarriage of widows, do not, as a rule, have recourse to it, as such a marriage is considered undignified for grown-up women.



The Hos of Singhbhum and the Mundās of the Chutia Nāgpur plateau have also exogamous septs of the same type as the Orāons and Santāls, with similar rules as to the totem being taboo to the members of the group. The lists given in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* contain the names of 323 Mundā septs and 46 Ho septs. Six of the latter are found also among the Santāls. The other Ho septs appear to be mostly of the local or communal type, such as are in use among the Kandhs, but this is not quite certain, and the point needs looking into by some one well acquainted with the Ho dialect, who would probably find little difficulty in identifying the names, as the tribe is known to be in the habit of giving

**In Chutia Nāgpur.**

to places descriptive names having reference to their natural characteristics. Nearly all the Mundā sept names are of the totem type, and the characteristic taboos appear to be recognized. The Tarwār or Talwār sept, for example, may not touch a sword, the Udbāru may not use the oil of a particular tree, the Sindur may not use vermilion, the Baghela may not kill or eat a quail, and, strangest of all, rice is taboo to the Dhān sept, the members of which, though rice is grown all round them, must supply its place with *gondli* or millet. It is difficult not to be sceptical as to the rigid observance of this last prohibition.

A step higher in the social scale, according to Hindu estimation, the Bhumij of Mānbhum mark an early stage in the course of development by which a non-Aryan tribe transforms itself into a full-blown caste, claiming a definite rank in the Brahmanical system. With the exception of a few residents of outlying villages bordering on the Mundā country of the Chutia Nāgpur plateau, the Bhumij have lost their original language (Mundāri), and now speak only Bengali. They worship Hindu gods in addition to the fetishistic deities more or less common to them and other Dravidians, but the tendency is to keep the latter rather in the background and to relegate the less formidable among them to the women and children to be worshipped in a hole-and-corner kind of way, with the assistance of a tribal hedge-priest (*Lāyā*), who is supposed to be specially acquainted with their ways. Some of the leading men of the tribe, who call themselves Bhuinhārs, and hold large landed tenures on terms of police service, have set up as Rajputs, and keep a low class of Brahmans as their family priests. They have, as a rule, borrowed the Rajput class titles, but cannot conform with the Rajput rules of intermarriage, and marry within a narrow circle of pseudo-Rajputs like themselves.

Santāls, by an official bearing the title of Parganāit ; they permit the marriage of adults and tolerate sexual intercourse before marriage within the limits of the caste ; and they have not yet attained to the dignity of employing Brahmans for ceremonial purposes. If I may hazard a conjecture on so obscure a question, I should be inclined to class them as Santāls who took to the degraded occupation of basket-making, and thus lost the *jus connubii* within the tribe. In the case of the Korās there is no clue to warrant their affiliation to any particular tribe, but their traditions say that they came from the Chutia Nāgpur plateau, while their name suggests a Dravidian origin, and it seems possible that they may be an offshoot of the Mundās, who somehow sank from the status of independent cultivators to their present position of earth-cutting and tank-digging labourers. They allow adult marriage, their standard of feminine chastity is low, and they have not yet fitted themselves out with Brahmans. In the customary rules of inheritance which their *pañchāyat* or caste council administers, it is curious to find the usage known in the Punjab as *chundavand*, by which the sons, however few, of one wife take a share equal to that of the sons, however many, of another. The Kurmis may perhaps be a Hinduised branch of the Santāls. The latter, who are more particular about food, or rather about whom they eat with, than is commonly supposed, will eat cooked rice with the Kurmis, and according to one tradition regard them as elder brothers of their own. However this may be, the totemism of the Kurmis of Western Bengal stamps them as of Dravidian descent, and clearly distinguishes them from the Kurmis of Bihar and the United Provinces. They show signs of a leaning towards orthodox Hinduism, and employ Brahmans for the worship of Hindu gods, but not in the propitiation of rural and family deities or in their marriage ceremonies.

One more instance of totemism in Bengal deserves special notice

In Orissa.

here, as it shows the usage maintaining its ground among people of far higher social standing than any of the castes already mentioned. The Kumhārs of Orissa take rank immediately below the Karan or writer caste, and thus have only two or three large castes above them. They are divided into two endogamous sub-castes—Jagannāthi or Oriya Kumhārs, who work standing and make large earthen pots, and Khatya Kumhārs, who turn the wheel sitting and make small earthen pots, cups, toys, etc. The latter are immigrants from Upper India, whose

Bengali) to convert a totemistic title into an eponymous one, and have gone on to borrow such other Brahmanical *gotras* as seemed to them desirable. If, for example, we analyse the matrimonial arrangements of the Bhars of Mānbhum, many of whom are the hereditary personal servants of the pseudo-Rajput Raja of Pachete, we find the foregoing conjecture borne out by the fact that two out of the seven sections which they recognize are called after the peacock and the *bel* fruit, while the rest are eponymous. But this is an exceptionally clear case of survival, and I fear it is hardly possible to simplify the diagnosis of non-Aryan castes by laying down a general rule, that all castes with a section bearing the name Kasyapa who have not demonstrably borrowed that appellation from the Brahmins, are probably offshoots from some non-Aryan tribe.

In the Bombay Presidency the Kātkaris of the Konkan will not kill a red-faced monkey, the Vaidus, or herbalists of Poona will not kill a rabbit, and the Vadārs whose name is derived from the *Vaa* (*Ficus Indica*), will not fell the Indian fig tree. The totemistic character of the septs which regulate marriage is, however, most pronounced in the Kanara district which borders on the Dravidian tract of the South. The rice-growing caste of Halvakkī Vakkal in Kanara have a number of exogamous septs or *bali* (lit. a creeper) which include the tortoise, the sambar, the monkey, the hog-deer, two sorts of fish, saffron, the acacia and several other trees, and the axe used for felling them. As we find them now, these groups are plainly totemistic. Thus the members of the screw-pine *bali* will neither cut the tree nor pluck its

In Bombay.

flowers, and those of the *Bargal bali* will not kill or eat the *barga* or mouse-deer. The followers of the *Shirin bali*, named after the *shirkal* tree (*Acacia speciosa*), will not sit in the shade of the tree, and refrain from injuring it in any way. But in Kanara, as in Orissa, there is a tendency to disguise or get rid of these compromising designations as the people who own them rise in the social scale. The Halepaik, once freebooters and now peaceful tappers of toddy trees, are divided into two endogamous groups, one dwelling on the coast and taking its name (*Tengina*) from the cocoanut tree, and the other living in the hills and calling itself *Bainu* after the sago-palm. Each of these again contains a number of exogamous *balis*. The *Tengina* have the wolf, the pig, the porcupine, the root of the pepper plant, turmeric, and the river; to which

bricks in their houses and their domestic architecture is restricted to wattle and mud. The report on the census of Central India also contains a curious instance of the apparent degradation of a caste into a tribe accompanied by the adoption of totems. The Sondhiās or Sundhiās of Malwa are said to be descended from the survivors of a Rajput army who were defeated by Shah Jahan and were ashamed to return to their homes. They therefore stayed in Malwa, married Sondhiā women, borrowed some of the Sondhiā totems and the Sondhiā gods, and in course of time allowed widows to marry again. Ten of the twenty-four septs into which the tribe is divided still cherish traditions of their Rajput origin and, while taking wives from the other septs, refuse to give their daughters in return.

For the Central Provinces Mr. Russell gives a long list of  
 In the Central Provinces      totems found among sixteen castes and tribes, including not only the primitive Gonds, Korkus, and Orāons, and the leather-working Chamārs, but also the pastoral Ahirs, the respectable carpenter caste (Barhai) and the Dhimars, from all of whom Brahmans can take water, while the last named are commonly employed by them as personal servants. The list comprises elephants, lions, tigers, bears, wolves, jackals, buffaloes, goats, monkeys, peacocks, parrots, crocodiles, lizards, tortoises, porcupines, scorpions, snakes, also salt, rice, Indian corn, pumpkins, mangoes, cucumbers, lotus leaves, vermilion and a variety of trees. All of these are regarded with reverence, and members of the sept abstain from killing, using or naming them.

In Madras the Boya *shikāri* tribe of the Deccan is divided into  
 In Madras.      101 totemistic septs, among them *chimalu*, ants; *eddulu*, bulls; *jenneru*, sweet-scented oleander; *jerrabutula*, centipedes; *yenumalu*, buffaloes; and *kusa*, grass. The Jatapu, the civilised division of the Kandhs or Khonds, have among their totems *koaloka*, arrows; *kondacorri*, hill sheep; *kutraki*, wild goats; and *vinka*, white ants. The large agricultural caste of Kapu, numbering nearly three millions, have among their exogamous sections the cock (*kodi*), the sheep (*mekala*), and a shrub known as *tangedu* (*Cassia auriculata*). Of the 102 sections of the trading Komatis six are totemistic, the totems including the tamarind, the *tulsi* (*Ocimum Sanctum*), and the betel vine. The weaving Kurnis count among their totems saffron, gold, cummin, gram, pepper, buffaloes, and certain trees.

of the Red Karens is something of the nature of a totemistic badge. Mr. Smeaton refers to it as follows in his *Loyal Karens of Burma* :—

‘Every Red Karen has a rising sun—the crest of his nobility—tattooed on his back. In challenging to combat he does not slap his left folded arm with his right palm, as the rest of the Karens and the Burmans do, but, coiling his right arm round his left side, strikes the tattoo on his back. This action is supposed by him to rouse the magic power of the symbol.’

Sir George Scott, however, seems to detect no totemistic inwardness in this tattoo mark, for he sums up the matter under consideration in the following words :—

‘Totemism also shows itself in the prescribed form of names for Shān and Kachin children and in the changing or concealing of personal names, but, so far as is yet known, there is no tribe which habitually takes its family name or has crests and badges taken from some natural object, plant or animal, though the limiting of marriages between the inhabitants of certain villages only practised both by tribes of Karens and Kachins is no doubt the outgrowth of this totem idea.’

Enough has been said to show that totemistic exogamy prevails in India on a fairly large scale, that it is still in active operation, and that it presents features which deserve further investigation in their bearing on the problems of general ethnology. On these grounds I venture to add a few comments on the striking explanation of the origin of totemism which was put forward by Mr. J. G. Frazer in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1899.\* The subject is one of special interest in India because the Indian evidence seems not only to point to conclusions different from those arrived at by Mr. Frazer on the basis of the Australian data published by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen,† but to suggest a new canon for determining the historical value of ethnographic evidence in general.

“A totem,” says Mr. Frazer, “is a class of natural phenomena or material object—most commonly a species of animals or plants—between which and himself the savage believes that a certain intimate relation exists. The exact nature of the relation is not easy to ascertain; various explanations of it have been suggested, but none has as yet won general acceptance. Whatever it may be, it generally leads the savage to abstain from killing or eating his totem, if his totem happens to be a species of animals or plants. Further, the group of persons who are knit to any particular totem by this mysterious

\* *Fortnightly Review*, N. S., LXV, pp. 647-665, 835-852.

† Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*.

which man is exposed in his struggle with nature." In other words, totemism is a primitive Commissariat and General Providence Department which at a later stage took over the business of regulating marriage. The evidence for this proposition is derived from the magical ceremonies called *intichiuma* in which the members of each totem solemnly mimic the animals and plants after which they are called, and eat a small portion of them with the object of ensuring a plentiful supply of the species. Thus the men of the totem called after the Witchetty grub, a succulent caterpillar of some kind which is esteemed a great luxury, paint their bodies in imitation of the grub, crawl through a structure of boughs supposed to represent its chrysalis, chant a song inviting the insect to go and lay eggs, and butt each other in the stomach with the remark "You have eaten much food." The Emu men dress themselves up to resemble Emus and imitate the movements and aimless gazing about of the birds; the Kangaroo men and the men of the Nakea flower totem go through similar mummeries. An admirable collection of the totemistic symbols of the Aranta, together with photographs of the ritual observed in the invocation of the totems themselves, may be seen in the Ethnological department of the Museum at Melbourne.

Now in the first place the doubt occurs to one whether small and moribund tribes, such as the Australians, can fairly be taken to be typical of primitive man. If they could, then man would be primitive still, and we should none of us have got to the point of vexing our souls about the origin of anything. The one distinctive feature of the Australian natives is their incapacity for any sort of progressive evolution. Surely an atrophied or, it may be, degenerate man of that type is not the sort of ancestor we want to discover; for it is difficult to see what we can learn from him. In Europe, on the other hand, primitive man, so far as we can judge from the traces he has left behind, seems to have been an animal of an entirely different type. He had, indeed, his weaknesses—does not his *vates sacer*, Mr. Andrew Lang, impute to him a diet of oysters and foes—but he fought a good fight with his environment and, as events show, he came out a winner. It seems then that the quest of primitive man ready made and only waiting to be observed and analysed may be nothing better than a tempting short cut leading to delusion, and that what we must look to is not so much primitive man as primitive usage regarded in its bearing on evolution.

law. We know that there is a tendency in individuals or groups of individuals to vary their habits; and that useful variations tend to be preserved and ultimately transmitted. Now suppose that in a primitive community, such as the Nāga *khel* or the Kandh *gochi*, the men happened to vary in the direction of taking their wives from some other community and that this infusion of fresh blood proved advantageous to the group. The original instinct would then be stimulated by heredity, and the element of sexual selection would, in course of time, come into play. For an exogamous group would have a larger choice of women than an endogamous one, and would thus get finer women, who again, in the course of the primitive struggle for wives, would be appropriated by the strongest and most warlike men. The exogamous groups so strengthened would tend, as time went on, to 'eat up,' in the expressive Zulu phrase, their endogamous neighbours, or at any rate to deprive them of the pick of their marriageable girls; and the custom of exogamy would spread, partly by imitation, and partly by the extinction of the groups which did not practise it.

The fact that we cannot say how people came to vary in this particular fashion is not necessarily fatal to the hypothesis put forward. In the case of animals other than man we do not call in question the doctrine of natural selection because we cannot trace the precise cause which gave rise to some beneficial variation. It is enough that variations do occur, and that the beneficial ones tend to be transmitted. If, however, an attempt must be made to pierce the veil which shuts off from our view the ages of pre-historic evolution, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that here and there some half-accidental circumstance, such as the transmission of a physical defect or an hereditary disease, may have given primitive man a sort of warning, and thus have induced the particular kind of variation which his circumstances required. Conquest again may have produced the same effect by bringing about a beneficial mixture of stocks, though it is a little difficult to see, as Mr. Lang pointed out long ago, why the possession of foreign women should have disinclined people to marry the women of their own group. At the same time it is conceivable that the impulse may have been set going by some tribe from which all its marriageable women had been raided and which was thus driven by necessity to start raiding on its own account. I have elsewhere given instances, drawn from the Kandhs and Nāgas, which lend themselves to this view; but I am not sure that we need travel beyond the tendency to accidental variation which

presenting an intelligible picture of the social grouping of that large proportion of the people of India which is organized, admittedly or tacitly, on the basis of caste. In this matter a new departure was taken at the last Census. The classification followed in 1891 was then described as "based on considerations partly ethnological, partly historical, and partly, again, functional. The second predominate, for instance, in the first caste group, and the last throughout the middle of the return; but wherever practicable, as it is in the latter portion of the scheme, ethnological distinctions have been maintained. Then, again, it must be mentioned that the functional grouping is based less on the occupation that prevails in each case in the present day than on that which is traditional with it, or which gave rise to its differentiation from the rest of the community." The main heads of the scheme embodying the application of these principles are given at page 188 of the Report on the Census of India for 1891, and its detailed application is shown in Imperial Table XVII.

Judged by its results this scheme is open to criticism in several respects. It accords neither with native tradition and practice, nor with any theory of caste that has ever been propounded by students of the subject. In different parts it proceeds on different principles, with the result that on the one hand it separates groups which are really allied, and on the other includes in the same category groups of widely different origin and status. It is in fact a patch-work classification in which occupation predominates, varied here and there by considerations of caste, history, tradition, ethnical affinity, and geographical position. Illustrations of these defects might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but it is sufficient to mention that the Dravidian Khandāits of Orissa are classed with Rajputs and Bābhans, Jāts, Marāthas, and Nāyars; that Brahman priests, Mirāsi musicians, and Bahurupia buffoons fall within the same general category; that the Mongoloid Koch, Kachāri, Thāru, and Mech are widely separated; and that more than half of the Musalmans, including the converted aborigines of Eastern Bengal and Assam, are shown as "Musalman Foreign Races," the rest being merged among a number of occupational groups purporting to be endogamous.

In organizing the Census of 1901 I suggested to my colleagues that an attempt should be made to arrange the various groups that had to be dealt with on some system which would command general acceptance, at any rate within the limits of the province to which it



The best evidence of the general success of the experiment, and incidentally of the remarkable vitality of caste at the present day, is to be found in the great number of petitions and memorials to which it gave rise, the bulk of which were submitted in English and emanated from the educated classes who are sometimes alleged to be anxious to free themselves from the trammels of the caste system. If the principle on which the classification was based had not appealed to the usages and traditions of the great mass of Hindus, it is inconceivable that so many people should have taken much trouble and incurred substantial expenditure with the object of securing its application in a particular way. Of these memorials the most elaborate was that received from the Khattris of the Punjab and the United Provinces, who felt themselves aggrieved by the Superintendent of Census in the latter Province having provisionally classified them as Vaisyas, whereas in the specimen table circulated by me they had been placed in the same group as the Rajputs. A meeting of protest was held at Bareilly, and a great array of authorities was marshalled to prove that the Khattris are lineally descended from the Kshatriyas of Hindu mythology, much as if the modern Greeks were to claim direct descent from Achilles and were to cite the Catalogue of the Ships in the second book of the Iliad in support of their pretensions. In passing orders on their memorial I pointed out that they were

<p><b>Its practical working.</b></p>	<p>mistaken in supposing that this was the first census in which any attempt had been made to classify castes on a definite principle, or that the selection of social precedence as a basis was an entirely new departure. As a matter of fact the scheme of classification adopted in 1891 purported to arrange the groups more or less in accordance with the position generally assigned to each in the social scale, as had been suggested by Sir Denzil Ibbetson in his Report on the Punjab Census of 1881. The result, in the case of the Khattris, was to include them as number 13 in "Group XV—Traders" immediately after the Aroras of the Punjab, ten places lower than the Agarwāls, and several places below the Kāndus and Kasarwānis of the United Provinces and the Subarnabaniks of Bengal. The Rajputs, on the other hand, ranked first in the entire scheme as number 1 of "Group I—Military and Dominant." In the Bengal Census Report of 1891 the Rajputs were placed among "the patrician class," while the Khattris were grouped with the Baniyas between the Baidyas and Kāyasthas in a group described as "the Vaisyas Proper or Plebeian</p>
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modern times, and we can point to no group that is generally recognized as representing it. The term is used in Bombay, Madras, and Bengal to denote a considerable number of castes of moderate respectability, the higher of whom are considered 'clean' Sudras, while the precise status of the lower is a question which lends itself to endless controversy. At this stage of the grouping a sharp distinction may be noticed between Upper India and Bombay and Madras. In Rajputana, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bengal, and Assam the grade next below twice-born rank is occupied by a number of castes from whose hands Brahmans and members of the higher castes will take water and certain kinds of sweetmeats. Below these again is a rather indeterminate group from whom water is taken by some of the higher castes but not by others. Further down, where the test of water no longer applies, the status of a caste depends on the nature of its occupation and its habits in respect of diet. There are castes whose touch defiles the twice-born, but who refrain from the crowning enormity of eating beef; while below these again, in the social system of Upper India, are people like Chamārs and Doms who eat beef and various sorts of miscellaneous vermin. In Western and Southern India the idea that the social status of a caste depends on whether Brahmans will take water and sweetmeats from its members is unknown, for the higher castes will, as a rule, take water only from persons of their own caste and sub-caste. In Madras especially the idea of ceremonial pollution by the proximity of a member of an unclean caste has been developed with much elaboration. Thus the table of social precedence attached to the Cochin report shows that while a Nāyar can pollute a man of a higher caste only by touching him, people of the Kammālan group, including masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, and workers in leather, pollute at a distance of twenty-four feet, toddy-drawers (Iluvan or Tiyan) at thirty-six feet, Pulāyan or Cheruman cultivators at forty-eight feet, while in the case of the Paraiyan (Pariahs) who eat beef, the range of pollution is stated to be no less than sixty-four feet. Where these fantastic notions prevail and the authority of the Brahman is unquestioned, it follows as a necessary consequence that the unhappy people who diffuse an atmosphere of impurity wherever they go are forbidden to enter the high caste quarter of the village, and are compelled either to leave the road when they see a Brahman coming or to announce their own approach by a special cry like the lepers of

and assumed the title of Rajput on the strength of their territorial position. Then follow the Baidyas, by tradition physicians, and the writer caste of Kāyasth. The former pose as the modern representatives of the *Ambastha* of Manu and assert their superiority to the Kāyasthas on the ground that the latter have been pronounced by the High Court of Calcutta to be Sudras, a Kāyasth judge concurring, and that their funeral usages confirm this finding ; that the Sanskrit College, when first opened, admitted only Brahmans and Baidyas as students ; that the Kāyasths were originally the domestic servants of the two higher castes, and when poor take service still ; and that native social usage concedes higher rank to the Baidyas at certain ceremonies to which members of the respectable castes are invited. The Kāyasths, on the other hand, claim to be Kshatriyas, who took to clerical work ; deny the identity of the Baidyas with the Ambasthas ; and describe them as a local caste, unknown in the great centres of Hinduism, who were Sudras till about a century ago, when they took to wearing the sacred thread, and bribed the Brahmans to acquiesce in their pretensions. The alphabetical arrangement observed in the table leaves the question an open one.

The third class, numbering three millions, comprises the functional castes originally known as Navasākha, the nine 'branches' or 'arrows,' and other clean Sudras, from whose hands the higher castes take water, and who are served by high-class Brahmans. Confectioners, perfume vendors, betelgrowers, pressers and sellers of oil, gardeners, potters, and barbers figure in this group, the constitution of which appears to have been largely determined by considerations of practical convenience. The preparation of a Hindu meal is a very elaborate performance, involving lengthy ablutions and a variety of ritualistic observances which cannot be performed on a journey, and it is essential to the comfort of the orthodox traveller that he should be able to procure sweetmeats of various kinds without being troubled by misgivings as to the ceremonial cleanliness of the people from whom he buys them. In matters of food and drink caste rules are wisely elastic. It has, I believe, been held that neither ice nor soda-water count as water for the purpose of conveying pollution ; there are special exemptions in favour of biscuits and patent medicines, for the last of which the Bengali has an insatiable appetite ; and in an outlying district where the only palanquin-bearers available were Dravidian Bhuiyas, I have known them to be given brevet rank as a water-giving (*jalācharaniya*)

origin would not ordinarily take water from the hands of one whose ancestors were Chandāls. Outsiders also recognize these differences and take water from Baishtams who are known to have belonged to one of the clean castes. Where the origin of a Baishtam is unknown, water which he has touched can only be used for washing.

The Subarnabaniks are a mercantile caste peculiar to Bengal Proper, who claim to be the modern representatives of the ancient Vaisya. In spite of their wealth and influence, their high-bred appearance, and the notorious beauty of the women of the caste, their claim to this distinguished ancestry has failed to obtain general recognition. They are excluded from the ranks of the Navasākha, or nine clean Sudra castes, and none but Vaidik Brahmans will take water from their hands. To account for the comparatively low status assigned to them, the Subarnabaniks cite a variety of traditions, some of which, however unsupported by historical evidence, deserve to be briefly mentioned here as illustrations of the kind of stories which tend to grow up wherever the business talents and practical ability of a particular community have advanced it in the eyes of the world conspicuously beyond its rank in the theoretical order of castes. These people, for example, say that their ancestors came to Bengal from Oudh during the reign of Adisura, who was struck by their financial ability and conferred on them the title of Subarnabanik, or trader in gold, as a mark of his favour. They then wore the Brahmanical thread, studied the Vedas and were generally recognized as Vaisyas of high rank. The stories of their degradation all centre round the name of Ballāl Sen, who was Raja of Eastern Bengal in 1070 A.D. His intrigue with a beautiful Pātni girl is said to have been ridiculed on the stage by some young Subarnabaniks, while the entire body refused to be present at the penance whereby the king affected to purify himself from the sin of intercourse with a maiden of low caste. Another cause of offence is said to have been the refusal of a leading Subarnabanik to lend Ballāl large sums of money to carry on a war with Manipur. Authorities differ concerning the method by which the Raja obtained his revenge. Some say that in the course of the penance already referred to, a number of small golden calves had been distributed to the attendant Brahmans. One of these Brahmans was suborned by Ballāl Sen to fill the hollow inside of a calf with lac-dye, and to take the figure to a Subarnabanik for sale. In testing the gold the Subarnabanik let out the lac-dye, which was at once pronounced to be blood. Having thus fastened

Islam, whether regarded as a religious system or as a theory of things, is in every respect the antithesis of Hinduism. Its ideal is strenuous action rather than hypnotic contemplation; it allots to man a single life and bids him live it and make the best of it; its practical spirit knows nothing of a series of lives, of transmigration, of *karma*, of the weariness of existence which weighs upon the Indian mind. For the dream of absorption into an impersonal *Weltgeist* it substitutes a very personal Paradise made up of joys such as all Orientals understand. On its social side the religion of Muhammad is equally opposed to the Hindu scheme of a hierarchy of castes, an elaborate stratification of society based upon subtle distinctions of food, drink, dress, marriage, and ceremonial usage. In the sight of God and of his prophet all followers of Islam are equal. In India, however, caste is in the air; its contagion has spread even to the Muhammadans; and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines. In both communities foreign descent forms the highest claim to social distinction; in both promotion cometh from the West. As the twice-born Aryan is to the mass of Hindus, so is the Muhammadan of alleged Arab, Persian, Afghan or Moghal origin to the rank and file of his co-religionists. And just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower while the converse process was vigorously condemned, so within the higher ranks of the Muhammadans a Saiyad will marry a Shekh's daughter but will not give his daughter in return, and inter-marriage between the upper circle of *soi-disant* foreigners and the main body of Indian Muhammadans is generally reprobated, except in parts of the country where the aristocratic element is small and must arrange its marriages as best it can. Even there, however, it is only under the stress of great poverty that a member of the *Ashrāf* or 'noble' class will give his daughter to one of the *Ajlāf* or 'low people,' as converts of indigenous origin are called in Bengal. Of course, the limits of the various groups are not defined as sharply as they are with the Hindus. The well-known proverb, which occurs in various forms in different parts of Northern India—"Last year I was a Jolāha; now I am a Shekh; next year if prices rise, I shall become a Saiyad"—marks the difference, though analogous changes of status are not unknown among Hindus, and, as Mr. Gait observes, 'promotion is not so rapid in reality as it is in the proverb.' But speaking generally, it

Social precedence  
among M u h a m -  
madans.

which it embodies and by reason of the testimony which it bears to the remarkable stability of the caste instinct in spite of the many modern influences which seem at first sight to be sapping its foundations. The scheme deals, moreover, with conditions with which I am to some extent familiar, and it represents an advanced stage of a process which appears to me to be going on with varying degrees of rapidity in all parts of India where Hindu sentiment and tradition are the dominant factors of social development. The extension of railways which indirectly diffuses Brahmanical influence and at the same time weakens trivial caste restrictions ; the tendency to revive the authority of the Hindu scriptures and to find in them the solution of modern problems ; the advance of vernacular education which increases the demands for popular versions of, and extracts from, these writings, and the spread of English education which encourages sceptical tendencies ;—these are among the causes which, in my opinion, are tending on the one hand to bring about among the population regarded as a whole a more rigid observance of the essential incidents of caste, especially of those connected with marriage, and on the other to introduce greater laxity in respect of the minor injunctions which are concerned with food and drink.

On the outskirts of the Empire there are two regions where Hindu standards of social precedence and Hindu notions of caste are neither recognized nor known. In Baluchistan, until less than a

**Case of Baluchistan.** generation ago, Hindus were tolerated only as a useful class of menials who carried on the petty trade which the fighting races deemed below their dignity. They adopted the device, not unknown in mediæval Europe, of putting themselves under the protection of their more powerful neighbours, and Mr. Hughes-Buller tells us that even now a Hindu when asked to what caste he belongs 'will often describe himself by the name of the tribal group to whom he holds himself attached. Their position generally was extremely degraded, and may best be gauged by the fact that among Baloch, Brāhui, and Afghans there was an unwritten rule that in the course of raids and counter-raids women, children and Hindus were to be spared.' Among the non-Hindu people of Baluchistan the question of social precedence is intricate and obscure and its details must be studied in Mr. Hughes-Buller's excellent report. Of the three chief races the Afghans rank highest in virtue of their former sovereignty ; then comes the Baloch who also once bore rule, and last the Brāhui who were in power at the time of

principle of graphic representation recommended by M. Bertillon. The strength of the caste to which a map relates is depicted in each province by a rectangle, of which the base indicates the total population of the province, while the height denotes the proportion which the numbers of the caste bear to the total population ; thus the area of the rectangle gives the actual strength of the caste. Most of the names have also been entered in the large map showing the physical types.

A glance at the maps will show that some castes are diffused over the whole of India, while others are localised in particular provinces or tracts of country. The typical instance of a widely diffused caste is furnished by the Brahmans, who number nearly fifteen millions, and represent a proportion of the total population ranging from ten per cent in the United Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana to three per cent in Madras, the Central Provinces and Bengal, and two per cent in Assam and Chutia Nagpur. The distribution accords fairly well with the history and traditions of the caste. They are strongest in their original centre, numbering nearly five millions in the United Provinces, and weakest in the outlying tracts, peopled mainly by non-Aryan races, which their influence has even now only imperfectly reached. There can, however, be little doubt that many of the Brahmans of the more remote tracts have been manufactured on the spot by the simple process of conferring the title of Brahman on the tribal priests of the local deities. The so-called Barna Brahmans who serve the lower castes of Bengal probably obtained sacerdotal rank in this fashion. That the priestly caste is not of altogether unmixed descent is attested by the numerous legends of Rajas, who, having sworn a rash oath to feed a stated number of Brahmans, usually a lakh and a quarter, found the supply run out and were obliged to make them up for the occasion out of any materials that were at hand. A similar conclusion may perhaps be drawn from the well-known distich—

*Karia Brahman, gora Chamār,  
Inke sūth na utariye pār  
If the Brahman be black,  
Or the Chamār be fair ;  
At the ford of the river  
Let the wise man beware !*

As with the Brahmans so in the chief functional groups the tendency is towards wide diffusion, and their racial composition probably varies materially in different provinces. Owing to differences of

### CHAPTER III.

#### CASTE IN PROVERBS AND POPULAR SAYINGS.

*Volito vivu' per ora virum.*

Ennius.

IN all ages and countries the study of proverbs and popular sayings has appealed by its human interest to many sorts of minds. Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus are believed to have collected the proverbs of their day, and many of Lucian's wittiest sayings are pointed from the same armoury. In the later middle age both Erasmus\* and Scaliger made collections of proverbs, unfortunately only of classical proverbs, and the former defined a proverb as '*Celebre dictum scita quadam novitate insigne.*' This earliest definition seems to overlook some of the essential features of the best proverbs—their brevity, their bearing on the practical conduct of every-day life, and their origin in the speech of the people. What makes a proverb, as M. Dejardin† excellently puts it, '*c'est sa vogue populaire.*' Erasmus fails to bring out this point and thus does not distinguish the proverb from the apophthegm, the brilliant expression of the concentrated thought of the learned, and from the aphorism which aims at scientific precision and corresponds, in the domain of ethics, to the axiom of mathematical reasoning. Voltaire illustrates the distinction admirably when he says of Boileau's poetry that one finds in it some expressions which have passed into proverbs and others which deserve to rank as maxims. 'Maxims,' he goes on to say, 'are elevated, wise and useful; they are made for the witty and appeal to cultivated taste. Proverbs on the other hand are for the vulgar, for the common man, whom,' he observes characteristically, 'one meets in all ranks of society.'

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\* *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Proverbiorum Epitome retractata ab M. Io Christ. Messerschmid, Lipsæ. 1758.*

† *Dictionnaire des Spots ou Proverbes Wallons, Liège 1863.*



when they were coined and of the nation which produced them. They hold good for their birth-place, but not for all the world.

It need hardly be said that the proverbs and sayings relating to caste which are brought together in Appendix I and are commented on in this chapter belong for the most part to the second of the two classes

**Indian proverbs of caste.**

noticed above. In respect both of their subject-matter and of their form they are local and particular rather than universal and general. Yet now and then one finds a truth of universal experience rendered in terms of caste relations, and the fact is instructive in so far as it bears witness to the supremacy of the caste sentiment in India and to the prominent place that it occupies in the daily life of the people.

No one indeed can fail to be struck by the intensely popular character of Indian proverbial philosophy and by its freedom from the note of pedantry which is so conspicuous in Indian literature. These quaint sayings have dropped fresh from the lips of the Indian

**A village portrait gallery.**

rustic; they convey a vivid impression of the anxieties, the troubles, the annoyances, and the humours of his daily life; and any sympathetic observer who has felt the fascination of an oriental village would have little difficulty in constructing from these materials a fairly accurate picture of rural society in India. The *mise en scène* is not altogether a cheerful one. It shows us the average peasant dependent upon the vicissitudes of the season and the vagaries of the monsoon, and watching from day to day to see what the year may bring forth. Should rain fall at the critical moment his wife will get golden earrings, but one short fortnight of drought may spell calamity when 'God takes all at once.' Then the forestalling Baniya flourishes by selling rotten grain, and the Jāt cultivator is ruined. First die the improvident Musalman weavers (Jolāhā), then the oil-pressers for whose wares there is no demand; the carts lie idle, for the bullocks are dead, and the bride goes to her husband without the accustomed rites. But be the season good or bad, the pious Hindu's life is ever

**The Brahman.**

overshadowed by the exactions of the Brahman — 'a thing with a string round its neck' (a profane hit at the sacred thread), a priest by appearance, a butcher at heart, the chief of a trio of tormentors gibbeted in the rhyming proverb :—

*Is duniyā men tū kasā,  
Pisū, katmāl, Brahman bhāi.*

from him, your debt mounts up like a refuse heap or gallops like a horse; if he talks to a customer he 'draws a line' and debits the conversation; when his own credit is shaky he writes up his transactions on the wall so that they can easily be rubbed out. He is so stingy that the dogs starve at his feast and he scolds his wife if she spends a farthing on betel-nut. A Jain Baniya drinks dirty water and shrinks from killing ants and flies, but will not stick at murder in pursuit of gain. As a druggist the Baniya is in league with the doctor; he buys weeds at a nominal price and sells them very dear. Finally, he is always a shocking coward: eighty-four Khatris will run away from four thieves.

Nor does the clerical caste fare better at the hands of the popular epigrammatist. Where three Kāyasths are gathered together a thunder-bolt is sure to fall; when honest men fall out the Kāyasth gets his chance. When a Kāyasth takes to money-lending he is a merciless creditor. He is a man of figures; he lives by the point of his pen; in his house even the cat learns two letters and a half. He is a versatile creature, and where there are no tigers he will become a shikāri; but he is no more to be trusted than a crow or a snake without a tail. One of the failings sometimes imputed to the educated Indian is attacked in the saying, 'Drinking comes to a Kāyasth with his mother's milk.'

Considering the enormous strength of the agricultural population of India, one would have expected to find more proverbs directed against the great cultivating castes. Possibly the reason may be that they made most of the proverbs, and people can hardly be expected to sharpen their wit on their own shortcomings. In two Provinces, however, the rural Pasquin has let out very freely at the morals and manners of the Jat, the typical peasant of the eastern Punjab and the western districts of the United Provinces. You may as well, we are told, look for good in a Jat as for weevils in a stone. He is your friend only so long as you have a stick in your hand. If he cannot harm you he will leave a bad smell as he goes by. To be civil to him is like giving treacle to a donkey. If he runs amuck it takes God to hold him. A Jat's laugh would break an ordinary man's ribs. When he learns manners, he blows his nose with a mat, and there is a great run on the garlic. His baby has a plough-tail for a plaything. The Jat stood on his corn-heap and called out to the

#### The Kayasth

#### The Jat.

too sharp for the angel of death ; God alone knows where to have them. A Sonār will rob his mother and sister ; he will filch gold even from his wife's nose-ring ; if he cannot steal his belly will burst with longing. He will ruin your ornament by substituting base metal for the gold you gave him, and will clamour for wages into the bargain. A pair of rogues : the goldsmith and the man who sifts his ashes for scraps

The potter gets off cheaper than the rest : his honesty is not impeached, though his intelligence is held up to ridicule, and there is a vein of philosophy in some

**The Potter.**

of the sayings about him. He is always thinking of his pots, and if he falls out with his wife he finds a solace in pulling his donkey's ears. But when the clay is on the wheel the potter may shape it as he will, though the clay rejoins ' Now you trample on me, one day I shall trample on you.' Turned on the wheel yet no better for it ; praise not the pot till it has been fired ; are general proverbs of life to which there are numerous parallels. If you are civil to a potter he will neither respect you nor will he sell you his pots. The frequency of petty thefts in India is illustrated by the saying, ' The potter can sleep sound ; no one will steal his clay.' He lives penuriously, and his own domestic crockery consists of broken pots. He is a stupid fellow—in a deserted village even a potter is a scribe—and his wife is a meddlesome fool, who is depicted as burning herself, like a Hindu wife, on the carcase of the Dhobi's donkey (*Dhobi ke gadhe par Kumhārin sati hui*).

A blacksmith's single stroke is worth a goldsmith's hundred ; but a Lohar is a bad friend ; he will either

**The Blacksmith.**

burn you with fire or stifle you with smoke. His shop is always in an untidy mess ; it is like the place where donkeys roll. Sparks are the lot of the blacksmith's legs. Such is his good nature that a monkey begged of him a pair of ankles. But you should not buy his pet *maina*, even if you can get it for a farthing, for the bird will drive you mad by mimicking the noise of the hammer. ' To sell a needle in the Lohars' quarter, is one of the Indian analogues of our ' Coals to Newcastle.' ' Before the smith can make a screw he must learn to make a nail ' is a proverbial truism apparently of comparatively modern origin.

The carpenter thinks of nothing but wood, and his wife walks and talks in time to the noise of the plane.

**The Carpenter.**

When out of work he keeps his hand in by

by giving them a bang on a stone and whistling. As for soap, none is used unless there are enough Dhobis to set up competition. When there is a robbery in the Dhobi's house the neighbours lose their clothes. He tears people's clothes and says it was the wind, but he is careful not to damage his father's things. You should change your Dhobi as you change your linen, for a new Dhobi washes clean. In a Koiri village the Dhobi is the accountant, for he is the only man who can add two and two together. He knows when the village is poor, just as the orderly knows when his master has been degraded. The Dhobi's donkey is habitually overworked, and must carry huge bundles of linen while 'its life oozes out of its eyes.'

The occupation of fishing ranks rather low as it involves the taking of life, but most Indians are great fish-eaters and one would have expected to find more proverbs dealing with the subject. The few that I have collected seem to suggest that the manners of fishing folk are much the same everywhere. 'A fisherman's tongue' corresponds to our 'Billingsgate'; a Māchhi woman will scold even when she is dead; three clouts from an oilwoman are better than three kisses from a fish-wife. There is a touch of local colour in the Sind saying, 'Sometimes the float is uppermost, sometimes the fisherman,' a reference to the practice of fishing balanced face downwards on an earthen pot which is liable to break or capsize.

In all parts of India the stupidity of the weaver, especially of the Muhammadan weaver (Jolāhā), is the staple subject of proverbial philosophy. His loom being sunk in the ground, he is said to dig a pit and fall into it himself. If he has a pot of grain he thinks himself a Rājā. He goes out to cut grass when even the crows are flying home to roost. He finds the hind peg of a plough, and proposes to start farming on the strength of it. If there are eight Jolāhās and nine *huggas*, they fight for the odd one. The Jolāhā goes to see a ram fight and gets butted himself. Being one of a company of twelve who had safely forded a river, he can only find eleven, as he forgets to count himself, and straightway goes off to bury himself in the belief that, as he is missing, he must be dead. Some Jolāhās walking across country come to a field of linseed looking blue in the moonlight; they wonder how deep the water is and hope that all of them can swim. A Jolāhā gets into his boat and forgets to weigh the anchor; after rowing all night he finds himself at home, and rejoices in the thought

In these latter days Chamārs are no longer forbidden to drink Ganges water, and this perversion of the old order of things is said to have caused 'the righteous to die while the wicked live'.

The Doms, among whom we find scavengers, vermin-eaters, executioners, basket-makers, musicians, and professional burglars, probably represent the remnants of a Dravidian tribe crushed out of recognition by the invading Aryans and condemned to menial and degrading occupations. Dr. Grierson has thrown out the picturesque suggestion that they are the ancestors of the European gipsies, and that Rom or Romany is nothing more than a variant of Dom. In the ironical language of the proverbs the Dom figures as 'the lord of death' because he provides the wood for the Hindu funeral pyre. He is ranked with Brahmans and goats as a creature useless in time of need. A common and peculiarly offensive form of abuse is to tell a man that he has eaten a Dom's leavings. A series of proverbs represent him as making friends with members of various castes and faring ill or well in the process. Thus the Kanjar steals his dog, and the Gujar loots his house; on the other hand the barber shaves him for nothing, and the silly Jolāhā makes him a suit of clothes. His traditions associate him with donkeys, and it is said that if these animals could excrete sugar Doms would no longer be beggars. 'A Dom in a palanquin and a Brahman on foot' is a type of society turned upside down. Nevertheless, outcast as he is, the Dom occupies a place of his own in the fabric of Indian society. At funerals he provides the wood and gets the corpse-clothes as his perquisite; he makes the discordant music that accompanies a marriage procession; and baskets, winnowing-fans, and wicker articles in general are the work of his hands.

In the west of India Mahārs and Dheds hold much the same place as the Dom. In the walled villages of the Marāthā country the Mahār is the scavenger, watchman and gate-keeper. His presence pollutes; he is not allowed to live in the village; and his miserable shanty is huddled up against the wall outside. But he challenges the stranger who comes to the gate, and for this and other services he is allowed various perquisites, among them that of begging for broken victuals from house to house. He offers old blankets to his god, and his child's playthings are bones. The Dhed's status is equally low. If he looks at a water jar he pollutes its contents; if you run up

Comparative  
Proverbs

Of the proverbs discussed in the foregoing paragraphs each has for its subject a particular caste and contains no reference to any other. I now turn to a class of proverbs which it will be convenient to group separately, since each of them deals with several castes and seizes upon their points of difference or resemblance. These comparative proverbs are curious in themselves, and throw a good deal of light on the relative estimation accorded to different castes by popular opinion. Here again the Brahman bulks large and figures in queer company. A black Brahman, a fair Sudra, an under-sized Musalman, a *ghar-jamai* (a son-in-law who lives with and on his father-in-law), an adopted son are all birds of a feather. Trust not a black Brahman or a fair Pāriah. A dark Brahman, a fair Chuhra, a woman with a beard—these three are contrary to nature. The Kunbi died from seeing a ghost; the Brahman from wind in the stomach; the goldsmith from bile. The first is superstitious; the second over-eats himself; the third sits too long over his fire. A Brahman met a barber; ‘God be with you’ said the one, but the other held up his looking-glass, thus countering the Brahman’s demand for a fee for his professional blessing by asserting his own claim to be paid for shaving people. Brahmans are made to eat, Bhavaiyas to play and sing, Kolis to commit robbery, and widows to mourn. The Mulla, the Bhāt, the Brahman, and the Dom, these four were not born on giving day. A Brahman for minister, a Bhāt for favourite, and the Rājā’s fate is sealed. A Dom, a Brahman, and a goat are of no use in time of need. If you cannot ruin yourself by keeping a Brahman servant, taking money from a Kasāi, or begetting too many daughters, you will do it by going to law with bigger men. The Brahman is lord of the water; the Rajput lord of the land; the Kāyasth lord of the pen; and the Khatri lord of the back, *i.e.*, a coward. A Khatri woman brings forth sons always; a Brahman woman only now and then—a rather cryptic utterance which may perhaps be a hit at the practice of female infanticide imputed to the Khatri.

Kāyasths, Khatris, and cocks support their kin; Brahmans, Doms and Nais destroy theirs. Bribe a Kāyasth; feed a Brahman; water paddy and betel; but kick a low-caste man. A Turk wants toddy; a bullock wants grain; a Brahman wants mangoes; and a Kāyasth wants an appointment. A Dhobi is better than a Kāyasth; a Sonār is better than a cheat; a dog is better than a deity; and a jackal

he saw the Ahir in liquor. The Kāchhi is not a good caste ; there is no virtue in a Māli ; and the Lodhā is a poor creature who ploughs with tears in his eyes.

We may pass from these *genre* pictures of the standard types of Indian village life to groups defined by religion rather than by caste, but which nevertheless are regarded as castes by popular usage. Conspicuous among these are the Pārsis, concerning whom many

#### The Parsi.

proverbs are current in Gujarāt, the country where they first appeared after leaving Persia. Considering how much the Pārsis have done for Bombay, both by their spirit of enterprise and by their munificent donations to public purposes, it is a little surprising to find them so savagely attacked in the proverbs of their earliest home in India. The Pārsi, it is said, loses no time in breaking his word ; a Pārsi youth never tells the truth ; a bankrupt Pārsi starts a liquor shop, and celebrates the day of Zoroaster by drinking brandy. Domestic scandal is hinted at in the punning proverb 'All is dark (*andhyārā*) in a house where you find an *andhyāru* or Pārsi priest.' 'Oh Dasturji', says a supposed penitent, 'how shall my sins be forgiven?' 'First present a gold cat and a silver necklace, and then we will see.' The proverb 'If a Pārsi grows rich he takes a second wife' has ceased to be applicable since the reproach of polygamy has been removed by the Pārsi Marriage Act, a self-denying ordinance passed at the instance of the Pārsis themselves. The influence of their Indian environment on the Pārsis is illustrated by the saying 'The Pārsi woman offers a cocoa-nut at the Holi,' and by the curious fact that the mitre-shaped hat worn by old-fashioned Parsis is merely a pasteboard copy of a Gujarāthi pagri. It is interesting and characteristic to find the Parsis asserting their own superiority in retaliatory proverbs. 'Crows your uncles and Parsis your fathers' is their rejoinder, in the suggestive style of Oriental innuendo, to the Hindus who call them crows on account of their custom of exposing their dead. 'The Hindu worships stones,' say the Parsis, 'the Musalman bows down to saints ; the Parsi religion is as pure as the water of the Ganges'. Finally, we have the quaint saying 'a Parsi's stroke, like a cannon ball' which one would like to trace to the hard-hitting achievements of Parsi cricketers.

In India, as in mediæval Europe, the hypocrisy, the immorality and the shameless rapacity of ascetics and religious mendicants move the indignation of the

#### The Ascetics

proverbial philosopher. Mendicancy is the veil that covers the lion.

The proverbs of Baluchistan and the North-West border furnish plentiful illustrations of the amenities current in a primitive tribal society, the members of which are endowed with a pretty sense of allusive humour and addicted to the vigorous prosecution of all conceivable forms of vendetta. The Afghān is faithless (*Afghān be imān*). A Pashtun's self-will will bring him to hell. A saint one moment, a devil the next, that is the Pathān. A Pathān's enmity is like a dung fire. The Pathāns took the village and the Behnas (cotton carders) got swollen head. A Pathān's mouth waters the moment his hands are dry, *i.e.*, he is hungry directly he has washed his hands after a meal. The weak antithesis of my rendering is a poor substitute for the crisp rhyme of the original *Hāth sukhā Pathān bhukhā*. 'Be a thief, be a thief !' say the Afridi parents to their child as they pass it from one to the other through a hole in a wall and thus baptize it in burglary. An Achakzai is a thief who will steal an empty flour bag. Here comes the Kākar besmeared with filth ; when you meet him hit him with a stick ; kick him out of the mosque and you will save trouble all round. A Masezai has no hope of God, and God has no hope of a Masezai. Though a Kāsi become a saint, he will still have a strain of the devil in him. A Khatak can ride, but he is a man of but one charge ; so say the enemies of the Khataks, the Marwāts. The Khataks retaliate with the pleasant saying 'Keep a Marwāt to look after asses, his stomach well filled and his feet well worn.' 'A hundred Bhitanni ate a hundred sheep, so thriftless were they'. Hold up a rupee and you may see any Mohmand, whether man or woman.

'Blood for blood' is the watch-word of the Baloch, a tribe recruited from all sorts of masterless men and held together mainly by the bond of the blood-feud. Of themselves they say in poetical strain : 'The hills are the fortress of the Baloch ; for a steed he has white sandals ; for a brother his sharp sword' ; and of the chief of Las Bela, 'Though the Jām be the Jām, yet is he by descent a Jadgal (converted Jat) and therefore not the equal of the princely race of Baloch.' To these vapourings their neighbours have the vulgar retort, 'There goes a Baloch with his trousers full of wind', a reflexion at once on the boastfulness and on the expansive nether garments of the average Baloch tribesman. The democratic spirit of the Baloch is illustrated by the saying 'One Sanni and seven chiefs.' To common honesty they are strangers. 'The Baloch who steals gains paradise for his ancestors even unto seven generations.' Wisdom begged in vain



warming himself. Miyān a fop and Bibi sweeping the house. The Miyān killed a crow and swore that he had shot a tiger. A Miyān's talk, like a kick from a fly. The Miyān is ripe for the grave and the Bibi is ripe for the bridal bed. (January and May.) 'Why weeping, Miyān?' 'My wife died to-day.' 'Why laughing, Miyān?' 'I marry a new one to-day.' God is straight, but the Miyān is crooked: if he is going north he says he is going south. 'Time to get up, Miyān!' 'All right, give me a hand.' When Miyān goes to Mecca, Bibi goes to Mālwa. A Miyān's cat; a Miyān's cow buffalo. (Both half-starved.)

The Jat Musalman cultivator of Sind is a person of dirty habits; two blankets and a half last him a life time. If you are civil to him he will knock you down. He is a merciless and importunate creditor—'the Jat's farthing will break the skin while the Baniya's hundred rupees will not hurt you.' If you rely on the word of a Jat you will come to grief, yet sometimes he meets his match: his wife soaked the yarn to make it heavy but the Baniya weighed it with false weights. Educate a Jat and he becomes a nuisance to gods and men.

Throughout Northern India the Mullah (priest) and the Kāzi (marriage registrar and judge) fare badly at the hands of the popular oracle. The face of a Mulla conceals the heart of a butcher. The Kāzi will drink if he gets the liquor for nothing. The Mulla was drowned because he had never given anything to anybody, and could not bear to give his hand even to save his life.

In the Punjab

A Kāzi's verandah is a place to sit in after meals, when you do not mind waiting for a decision long delayed, and 'a Kāzi's judgment' is a synonym for injustice. Yet during his life all men honour the Kāzi; his bitch may give pups where she pleases, and when she dies the whole town is at the funeral. But when the Kāzi himself dies, not a soul follows his coffin to the grave. So every one strokes the Mulla's cow until the Mulla dies from a surfeit of milk and parched rice. Your love, it is said, is like that of the Mulla who feeds fowls in order to eat them. A Mulla's outing takes him as far as the mosque where he looks for alms. The horse kicked him off, but the Mulla boasted of his ride. The Mulla is a thief and the Banga who calls to prayer is his witness. Half a doctor is a danger to life; half a Mulla is a danger to faith.

the Bengalis have led to their diffusion all over Northern India, where they exercise considerable influence in certain circles. But these domestic and public virtues, while they have gained for Bengalis a share in all grades of salaried employment proportionate to their industry and ability, have somehow, possibly for this very reason, failed to endear them to the other Indian races; and the supposed characteristics of this type, the most marked and the most provincial in India, are glanced at in a series of needlessly spiteful proverbs. Their dark complexion and the habit imputed to them of chewing betel incessantly are referred to in the guise of a traveller's observation:—‘I have seen the land of Bengal, where teeth are red, and faces black.’ There is nothing to show that Bengalis chew betel more assiduously than other Indians. But both betel and areca nut grow well in Bengal; the province is very rich and very lightly taxed, and the people are able to indulge in small luxuries. ‘Bengal is the home of magic and the women are full of witchery,’ and ‘if a Bengali is a man what is a devil’ serve to illustrate the suspicion which attaches to people who live in a distant country far away from the great centres of religious orthodoxy and social propriety, and may perhaps be a specific allusion to the debased forms of Tantric worship alleged to be current in Bengal. “A hungry Bengali cries ‘Rice, rice’”—is the gibe of the fighting races at a diet associated in their minds with effeminacy and cowardice. ‘Twelve Bengalis cannot cut off a goat’s ear’ imputes feebleness and timidity in more direct terms. ‘An Eastern donkey with a Western bray’ is a hit at the Bengali Bābus who affect European manners and dress. The Assamese, a type closely akin to the Bengali, are attacked for their vanity and social pretensions. ‘A pagri on his head and nakedness below, the Assamese wishes to lead the way.’ These ill-natured witticisms savour of the malice of the unsuccessful competitor, the idle apprentice who in a well-regulated world would be debarred from manufacturing proverbs for general consumption. While making general accusations of cowardice they take no account of the proficiency of the educated Bengalis of the present day in football and hockey, games not unaccompanied with hard knocks. They forget that, in the Eastern districts of Bengal, the monotony of rural existence is relieved by Homeric battles in which the favourite weapon is a heavy fish spear made by splitting a bamboo into a cluster of branches, each of which is armed with formidable steel barbs. People who fight half-naked with these appalling implements can afford to disregard the charge of

tribunals which may make or mar the lives of those who come before them. In view of these grave possibilities, the discreet advice is given 'Having drunk water from his hands, it is foolish to ask about his caste.' To take water from low-caste people is to incur ceremonial pollution, entailing expulsion from caste pending submission to a disagreeable purificatory ritual and the payment of a heavy fine; the least said, therefore, the soonest mended. 'A low-caste man is like a musk-rat, if you smell him you remember it.' 'As the ore is like the mine, so a child is like its caste. 'The speech fits the caste as the peg fits the hole'; the idea being that you can tell a high-caste man by his refined language and accent. 'I have sold my limbs not my caste,' says a servant to his master when he is asked to do something derogatory to his caste.

Along with these sayings affirming the supremacy of the modern doctrine of the necessity and inviolability of caste, we find others which seem to recall an earlier order of ideas when castes were not so rigidly separated, when members of different castes could intermarry, and when, within certain limits, caste itself was regarded as a matter of personal merit rather than of mere heredity. 'Love laughs at caste distinctions.' 'Caste springs from actions not from birth.' 'Castes may differ; virtue is everywhere the same.' 'The Vaisyas and Sudras must have come first, and it was from them that Brahmans and Kshatriyas were made.' 'Though your caste is low, your crime is none the less.' 'Every uncle says that his caste is the best.' In others again we hear the croaking tones of the *laudator temporis acti* to whom all change is a stumbling-block and a reproach. 'The Hindu gods have fled to Dwārka; the Musalmān saints to Mecca; under British rule the Dheds shove you about.' The Dheds, as has been explained above, are one of the scavenger castes of Bombay, whose mere touch is pollution. 'Now-a-days money is caste.' 'In old times men looked to caste when they married their children, now they look only to money.' 'The Pandit reads his Scriptures and the Mulla his Quran; men make a thousand shows yet find not God.' 'To the Hindu Ram is dear, to the Musalmān Rahim; they hate with a deadly hatred but know not the reason why.'

No useful purpose would be served by attempting a comparative study of the Indian proverbs relating to caste and the European proverbs regarding trades and professions. Where the environment and the point of view differ so widely, there is really little opening for comparison between the two series of sayings. The Indian

## CHAPTER IV.

### *CASTE AND MARRIAGE.*

Das Ewig-Weibliche

Zieht uns hinan.

Goethe. *Faust II.*

Nous ne dépendons point des constitutions ni des chartes, mais des instincts et des mœurs.

Anatole France.

AMONG the various causes which contribute to the growth of a race or the making of a nation by far the most effective and persistent is the *jus connubii*—the body of rules and conventions governing intermarriage. The influence of these rules penetrates every family ; it abides from generation to generation, and gathers force as time goes on. The more eccentric the system, the more marked are the consequences which it tends to produce. With men, as with animals, artificial selection is more potent and works more rapidly than natural selection. In no department of life is the contrast sharper between the East and the West, the stationary and the progressive societies, the faces of India and the nations of Europe. The first point which strikes an observer is the almost universal prevalence of the married state. In Europe sentiment and prudence hold divided sway, and the tendency on the whole is rather towards a decline in the number of marriages. In India neither of these motives comes prominently into play. Religion on the other hand, which in the West makes in the main for celibacy, throws its weight in India almost wholly into the other scale. A Hindu man must marry and beget children to perform his funeral rites, lest his spirit wander uneasily in the waste places of the earth. If a high class Hindu maiden is unmarried at puberty, her condition brings social obloquy on her family, and on a strict reading of certain texts entails retrospective damnation on three generations of ancestors.

Contrasts between  
India and Europe.

The terms endogamy and exogamy—*passablement barbares* as

Endogamy.

M. Senart has called them—were introduced more than forty years ago by the late Mr. J. F.

McLennan in his well known essay on *Primitive Marriage*. The laws governing marriage which these terms denote were then unnamed. Mr. McLennan was, I believe, the first to draw attention to them, and the names devised by him have been adopted by all who have since written on the subject. Endogamy, or “marrying in,” is the custom which forbids the members of a particular social group to marry any one who is not a member of the group. An endogamous division, therefore, is a group within which its members must marry. The following types of endogamous divisions may be distinguished. The enumeration is probably not exhaustive, but it will serve to illustrate the lines on which the principle of endogamy works in India :—

- I. *Ethnic groups* consisting of compact tribes like the Indo-Aryan Rajputs of Rajputana and the Dravidian Mundas, Orāons and Santāls of Chutia Nagpur, and also including tribes, like the Bhumij, who have adopted Hinduism and transformed themselves into a caste. In the case of the latter, the assumption of a common origin is borne out by what is known of the history and affinities of the tribe, but after having become a caste, its members set to work to strip themselves of all customs likely to betray their true descent. At the same time the substantial landholders, if there are any among the tribe, usually break off from the rest and set up as Rajputs, a designation which outside of Rajputana proper does not necessarily imply any race distinction, and frequently means nothing more than that the people using it have or claim to have proprietary rights in land. The local Raja of the Bhumij country pretends to be some kind of Rajput, and the smaller landholders of the tribe tend to follow his example. The change of style does not take long to effect, and it is no one’s business to challenge its validity. I have known a man who habitually posed as a Surajbansi Rajput file in court and lay immense stress upon a document in which his grandfather wrote himself down a Bhumij. His composure was not materially disturbed when the anomaly was pointed out to him.

has not yet been fully recognized, but that is merely a question of time and importunity.

V. *Sectarian* groups like the Bishnois of northern India, and the Lingāyats of Bombay. These were originally religious sects which have now closed their ranks to outsiders and marry only among themselves. As a rule, however, groups based upon religious differences within the range of Hinduism do not tend to become endogamous, and the evolution of a caste from a sect is a comparatively rare phenomenon.

VI. *Social* groups marked off by abstaining from or practising some particular social or ceremonial usage. Thus the Sagāhut sub-caste of Sunris (traders and liquor sellers) in Bihar allow their widows to re-marry by the maimed rite of *sagāi*, while another sub-caste of Sunris forbid widow marriage, and designate themselves *biyāhut*, "the married ones," from *biyāh*, the full-blown wedding ceremony which no woman can go through twice.

In theory all the members of each of the numerous groups included in these classes are regarded as forming a body of kindred, though in any particular instance their pedigree may be extremely obscure. In the first or ethnic class, the racial tie which binds the members together and distinguishes them from other tribes forming part of the same class is palpable and acknowledged, and various legends are current which purport to account for it. In the other classes the tendency towards sub-division, which is inherent in Indian society, seems to have been set in motion by the fiction that men who speak a different language, who dwell in a different district, who worship different gods, who observe different social customs, who follow a different profession, or practise the same profession in a slightly different way, must be of a fundamentally different race. Usually, and in the case of sub-castes invariably, the fact is that there is no appreciable difference of blood between the newly-formed group and the larger aggregate from which it has broken off.

For reasons which need not be entered upon here, complete statistics of these countless divisions are never likely to be available. But many of them are known to be exceedingly small, and even the larger ones, when distributed over a large area of country, may be so scantily represented in a given locality that the number of possible marriages open to their members must be inconveniently restricted.

Provinces are two large groups known as Bārahseṇi and Chauseni, the members of which do not intermarry. The former are shop-keepers and confectioners, and pride themselves on not allowing widows to marry again. The Chauseni are usually regarded as an illegitimate or outcast branch of the Bārahseṇi, but they are endeavouring to improve their status and, as a means to that end, an important section of them "has refused to recognize widow marriage, and even the rest of the group look on the practice with growing disfavour." Some members of the Bārahseṇi community have recently joined the modern reformers of the Arya Samāj, "and a marriage was lately celebrated between a Bārahseṇi man and a widow of the same group. When the project was announced, the orthodox Hindus held a meeting and endeavoured to stop further proceedings, but without success. Two days after the marriage another meeting was held, and the married couple and those who aided them were solemnly excommunicated. A printed notice has been widely circulated directing all Bārahseṇis to avoid dining, marrying, drinking or holding any communication with those outcasted. A large feast was subsequently held, at which about 4,000 orthodox Bārahseṇis were present, but to which none of the guilty members were invited. The feeling has gone so far that some men whose sons had previously married into families now outcasted have recalled their daughters-in-law, and refuse to let them visit their parents. Others have turned their own daughters out of their houses as they are married to outcasts."

These proceedings give rise to the awkward question, what is to become of all the people thus expelled from their own society. The Chausenis will not receive them, because they have offended against a rule which the Chausenis themselves are beginning to observe. Nor would the outcasts consent to enter the lower group, since they insist on the entire legality of the marriages which have been contracted. The result is that at present they belong to no caste at all, and, arguing from analogy, it seems probable that they may be driven to set up a new caste of their own.

Exogamy, or "marrying out," is the custom which forbids the members of a particular social group, usually supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, or to be associated with a certain locality, to marry any one who is a member of the same group. An exogamous division, therefore, is a group outside of which its members must marry.

by our own table of prohibited degrees and the contrast is sufficiently striking. The calculation, however, understates the case. As has often been pointed out, exogamy is one-sided in its operation. In no case may a man marry into his own group, but the name of the group goes by the male side, and consequently, *so far as the rule of exogamy is concerned*, there is nothing to prevent him from marrying his sister's daughter, his maternal aunt, or even his maternal grandmother. Alliances of this kind are barred by a separate set of rules, which usually overlap the exogamous rule to some extent. Marriage with any person descended in a direct line from the same parents is universally forbidden. In order to simplify the calculation of collateral relationship—a complicated business which severely taxes the rural intellect—the following formula is in use throughout Bihar :—*Chachera, mamera, phuphera, masera, ye chār nātā bachāke shādī hotā hai*, “the line of paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt, these four relationships are to be avoided in marriage.” Here the first point to notice is that in the first generation the whole of the paternal uncle's descendants, both male and female, are excluded by the rule prohibiting marriage within the section. In the second and subsequent generations agnates are barred, but descendants through females are not. For the paternal uncle's daughters must have married out of the section, so that their children must belong to some other section, and thus second cousins are able to marry. Another point is that the formula does not state the number of generations to which the prohibition extends, and that different castes supply this omission in different ways. The Dravidian races generally incline to laxity. The Santāls, for example, in the Santāl Parganas, are said to make up for their sweeping prohibition on the father's side by allowing very near alliances on the mother's side—a fact well illustrated in their proverb “No man heeds a cow-track, or regards his mother's sept.” Many castes, again, exclude a smaller number of generations on the female side, while others profess to prohibit intermarriage so long as any relationship, however remote, can be traced between the parties.

Hypergamy, or “marrying up,”\* is the custom which forbids a woman of a particular group to marry a man of a group lower than her own in social standing, and

**Hypergamy**

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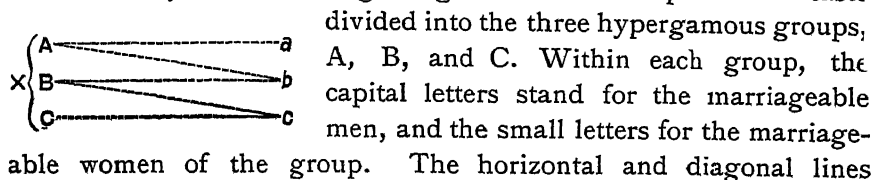
\* This is what the term was intended by its inventor to mean. He alone is responsible for the etymology.



to Marāthas of lower social position. In some cases intermarriage has been entirely broken off; and the group is converting itself into a caste which claims descent from the traditional Kshatriyas.

- (d) A curious development of hypergamy has taken place of recent years among the Pods, a cultivating and fishing caste very numerous in the districts near Calcutta. Those Pods who have taken to English education and become clerks, pleaders, doctors, and the like, refuse to give their daughters in marriage to their agricultural and fishing caste-fellows, though they still condescend to take brides from the latter. The case is closely parallel to that of the Māhishya Kaibarttas mentioned above, and is of interest as exhibiting an earlier stage in the process of caste-making. The educated Pods, it will be observed, have not completely separated from the main body of their caste; they have merely set up for themselves a special *jus connubii*, the right of taking girls without giving them in return, like the three higher classes in the traditional Indian system. Their number being comparatively small, they probably have not women enough to meet their own needs. But this will right itself in course of time, and they will then follow the classical precedent of the twice-born classes and will marry only within their own group. Later on they will start a distinctive name, probably a pretentious Sanskrit derivative, and will disclaim all connexion with the Pods. They will then have become a caste in the ordinary acceptation of the word, and in a generation or two their humble origin will be forgotten.

The examples given above show the custom of hypergamy to be of great antiquity, and to prevail in India over a very wide area at the present day. Its theoretical working is perhaps best illustrated by the following diagram. Let X represent a caste



a handsome bridegroom-price, diminishing in amount with the number of wives they had at the time of the marriage; they made what they could out of each periodical visit; and they asked no questions about the children. Nearly forty years ago Babu Abhaya Chandra Das described this scandalous state of things in a paper read before the Dacca Institute. He said "I know of two Kulins, one of whom married about 60 wives, and the other had upwards of 100; each of these men had a book in which he entered the names of villages where he married as well as the names of the fathers of the wives married. At the commencement of the cold weather, each would start on his connubial tour, if I may so express it, with his memo-book, and after collecting money from each wife visited according to her father's pecuniary circumstances, return home at the beginning of the summer to spend the rest of the year in his village. It is not infrequently the case that fathers and sons and husbands and wives meet as perfect strangers to one another, and become overwhelmed with shame when their mutual relations are known. I heard also of one case in which a Kulin, by mistaking the name, visited the daughter of a certain Bangsaj, who was glad to receive his supposed son-in-law, but a few days afterwards, the real son-in-law paid his visit, and the mistake was then found out to the utter amazement of the father"—and, one would think, to the consternation of the daughter.

The system, I am informed, has even now not wholly died out, but it prevails on a less outrageous scale; a connubial touring season is not so much in evidence; and educated opinion condemns it forcibly. According to a recent writer,\* however, "it is still in full force in East Bengal, where such an abominable practice of having many wives still exists." And an actual case was mentioned to me recently of a Kulin Brahman living in the neighbourhood of Calcutta who has more than fifty wives, duly entered in a register, whom he visits, for a consideration, during the cold weather. The same writer gives an interesting account of a modern development of the principle of hypergamy which has arisen from the demand for graduate husbands in the marriage-market of Bengal.

"Education instead of stifling or mitigating the baneful effects of Kulinism has gone in a horrible degree to strengthen them. In

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\* *The Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal* by Babu Girindranath Dutt, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.S.A., Madras, 1906.

frivolous omissions and commissions are also in some cases realized to wreak vengeance. The miserable position of a girl's father is very well depicted in the Bengali adages which say that 'he has hanging over his head a chain of shoes to strike him at every turn,' and that 'bride's father is soil and bridegroom's father is peg' (*meyer bāp mātī, chheler bāp khunti*). In view of the increasing difficulties in daughters' marriages which are being occasioned in consequence of the daily rising and multiplicity of the items of demand, thoughtful men have already rightly apprehended, that if matters go on in this stride, there would soon be a time when girls' fathers would be compelled to have recourse to secret infanticide."

Mr. Dutt's view of the matter is confirmed by a remarkable speech delivered in Bengali by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mittra of the Calcutta High Court and published in the *Kāyasth Patrika*.

"Look at the present situation. I have heard that in Rajputana daughters used to be killed as soon as they were born, because bridegrooms could not be had easily. In these disastrous days of ours, in our country also, in order to rid ourselves of the troubles of a daughter's marriage, we might also be tempted to do the same at her birth. Now, as it is, the faces of the parents grow lean as soon as a girl is born to them. The birth of a daughter is considered to be the penalty of sins committed in a former state of existence. It is needless to dwell on the present state of Hindu society, as it is too well known. Led by avarice or vanity, though many shut their eyes and raise the plea that there is nothing wrong in 'committing highway robbery on a thief,' they fully understand what a disaster has been the effect. Hundreds of girls' fathers have to sell or mortgage their residential houses; thousands of girl-wives have to suffer in patience maltreatment like prisoners under their fathers-in-laws' roofs in consequence of their fathers' inability to meet unjust demands. Placed in a strange house for the first time, the poor girl-wives sorely feel the absence of their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters; they are constantly tormented by the abusive epithets heaped on their parents and they are themselves subjected to intolerable personal ill-usage. These circumstances drive us to the conclusion that it would be far better to kill girls as soon as they are born or to keep them in life-long maidenhood regardless of religion and morality. \* \* \* \* \* A boy's father, who has not even a house of his own and lives in a hired lodging where

It seems at first sight surprising that two highly cultivated representatives of the chief literate caste in the most advanced province in India should gravely refer to female infanticide as a solution of matrimonial difficulties arising from a demand for English education which is itself hardly two generations old. Nor is it less remarkable to find the primitive belief that a girl unmarried at puberty is a disgrace to her family, and an offence against religion, surviving in undiminished force side by side with vigorous competition for the modern luxury of a graduate bridegroom. But so long as these conditions prevail, the danger of a reversion to barbarous usages, such as the writers quoted above apprehend, cannot be wholly excluded. The truth of course is—and the sooner it is realized the better—that the development of the literate classes in modern India has proceeded on irregular and one-sided lines. Intellectual and political ideals have assumed undue prominence, while the social and moral reforms without which no wholesome national life is possible have been thrust into the background. History affords no warrant for the belief that the enthusiasm of nationality can be kindled in sordid and degenerate surroundings. Wherever that sentiment has displayed any real vitality, it has been fostered and stimulated by the influence of the women of the race. A society which accepts intellectual inanition and moral stagnation as the natural condition of its womankind cannot hope to develop the higher qualities of courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice which go to the making of nations.

The voluminous literature relating to female infanticide in India contains many indications that where the practice is not merely sporadic, resulting from the pressure of starvation, but has hardened into a recognized usage, it may be traced to the operation of two distinct causes. In certain stages of tribal society, the practice of killing females seems to be connected with the rule of exogamy. The late Mr. J. F. McLennan observed long ago that the two usages often existed side by side. In the theory of exogamy put forward in his essay on *Primitive Marriage*, he argued that female infanticide

Female infanticide  
and exogamy.

as practised by savages disturbed the balance of the sexes and drove men to capture their wives from other tribes—a custom which in course of time resolved itself into the systematic observance of exogamy. This view was open to the obvious rejoinder that if all tribes killed their female infants at an equal rate, there would soon be no

widely different stocks as the Dravidian Khonds of Orissa and the Mongoloid Nāgas of Assam, may be regarded as crucial in their bearing on the question of the relation of female infanticide to the custom of exogamy. They seem to show that the practice of killing female infants is a consequence not a cause, and assuredly not *the* cause, of the rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own tribe. This consequence, moreover, ensues only so long as society is in a savage state ; and tends to die out, as it has died out among both Khonds and Nāgas, directly a regime of violence is succeeded by a regime of law. As soon as this change has been effected, the value of women tends to rise. They become a saleable commodity, which neighbouring tribes will buy with a price, and the inducement to kill them in infancy ceases to exist. In short, savage infanticide is an incident of the primitive struggle for bare existence which disappears when the severity of the struggle is mitigated by peace.

There is, however, another form of infanticide, which is connected not with exogamy but with hyper-  
Female infanticide  
and hypergamy. gamy, and which requires to be carefully distinguished from the savage type. Given a tribe like the Rajputs of Northern India, divided into a number of exogamous septs, and strongly impressed with the idea of purity of blood and the importance of correct ceremonial observances, it follows of necessity that in course of time some groups will drop behind the others and will come to be regarded as socially inferior to the rest. To these septs the superior groups refuse to give their daughters in marriage and there arises the state of things illustrated by the diagram on page 158. The balance of the sexes is disturbed; the superior groups find themselves embarrassed with a surplus of girls ; and the bridegroom-price tends to rise until it presses severely on the means of families unfortunate enough to have several daughters to marry. Family pride, religious prescription, and the necessity of avoiding scandals, render it impossible to let girls grow up with the prospect of remaining old maids; convents and sisterhoods are unknown ; and the only way out of the difficulty, as it presents itself to the Rajput father, is to permit no more girls to arrive at maturity than can certainly be provided with husbands. The ultimate result no doubt is much the same as among savage people like Nāgas and Khonds, but it is arrived at in a different way and springs from a different principle. The Nāga kills his daughter lest a stronger man than he

practised. They either suffocate them or give the juice of the *āk* plant (*Calatropis gigantea*) in the *gurthi*, the first nourishment given to a newborn child "

More recondite methods were also sometimes adopted. A Panjābi friend of mine, a member of a tribe which followed the custom of hypergamy, with whom I was discussing the subject of female infanticide, told me that when he was eight years old he was summoned to his mother's bedside to sanction and assist at the murder of a newborn girl. His father being away from home, he was called upon to exercise the *patria potestas* as the eldest male member of the household then present. The child was given him to hold, and the midwife poured over her head two large jars of water, chilled almost to freezing by being put out on the roof during a December night. Her face instantly turned black and she died in the arms of her terrified brother. All the girls that were born met with a similar fate. The mother complied reluctantly with the barbarous usage of the family, but the horror of the thing was with her through life, and when she was dying her remorse conjured up a ghastly vision of the spirits of her murdered children, standing at her bedside armed with iron hooks and crying vindictively to the soul still lingering in her body "Come out, come out that we may tear you in pieces." This, however, happened nearly fifty years ago, and my friend assures me that in his tribe at any rate systematic infanticide has disappeared under the influence of popular education, and that twenty girls may now be seen where in his boyhood hardly one could be found.

Official opinion seems to incline, on the whole, to the comfortable belief that these crude manifestations of paternal authority have of late years fallen into disuse. No one has the least desire to unveil the mysteries of high caste households, and there is something to be said for the cynical view that it is better to wink at the secret murder of an uncertain number of babies than to face the certain odium of repressive legislation enforced by the domiciliary visits of an Asiatic police. Hardly anyone, however, is prepared to go the length of asserting that infanticide is now nothing more than a dim tradition of the dreadful past. On the contrary the practice is definitely stated to continue, though in a modified, more subtle, and, as some may think, less merciful form. According to the writers of the last three Census Reports, all of whom seem to have taken much trouble to arrive at the truth, the mental attitude of the average Panjābi parent

combination of causes. If it was felt that the child was likely to cause misfortune, *and* that her marriage would be difficult, it may be that she would be killed. But such cases cannot be numerous. To this the Jāts, Hindu and Sikh, are a possible exception, and the only solution of the problem in their case is that infanticide is a barbarous form of Malthusian practices. This idea was suggested many years ago by Major Goldney, as Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, the district in which the data are the most inexplicable. Even less easy is it to account for the mortality amongst girl-children after the age of infancy. No one who has seen the peasantry, especially the Jāt peasantry, in their villages, at fairs and the like, could for a moment suggest that women and girls in this province are treated, generally, with cruelty or intentional neglect. Sikhs, especially, treat women well. One can only say that ignorance and an unconscious ill-treatment of females at all ages may result from the low estimation in which savage and backward races hold women. Of all the data obtained the most significant is the mortality among female infants in years of famine."

The statistics of the subject certainly present some remarkable features. It is difficult to offer any plausible explanation of the fact that the proportion of girls to boys among children under five ranges in British territory from 96 per cent among Muhammedans, and 92 per cent among Hindus, to 76 per cent among Sikhs, while the Sikh figure in one district is no more than 70, and in a particular tribe falls as low as 62 per cent. The idea has been thrown out that the practice of killing female infants, if persevered in for many generations, might induce among the surviving women a hereditary tendency to bear more boys than girls. Darwin's authority has been cited in support of this conjecture, which was first put forward by Colonel Marshall in explanation of the preponderance of males among the Todās of the Nilgiri hills. There is obviously no means of testing the speculation, but in 1891 Mr. Maclagan observed that "castes, such as the Gakkhars and semi-Rājput tribes, such as the Dhunds and Rāthis, which used to practise or to be suspected of practising infanticide have now a larger proportion of women than the average; and this fact so far tends to damage the theory that female infanticide leads to a hereditary incapacity to produce female children." In an earlier paragraph of the same report Mr. Maclagan writes: "It has been suggested to me that the methods of dressing young children (when they are dressed at all) may have

comparatively few women, took captives from among the people whose territory they occupied. Captured women would become the wives or concubines of their captors ; male captives, if not slain off-hand, would be kept as slaves, and would in no case be accepted as husbands for the daughters of the conquering race. One may say, indeed, that wherever slavery has prevailed, or wherever one race has established a marked political ascendancy over another, there hypergamy has necessarily established itself. The mixed or coloured races of America, Mulattoes, Quadroons, Mestizos and the like were, in the first instance at any rate, the offspring of hypergamous unions, corresponding to the *anuloma* marriages of the Indian law-books. The fathers were Spaniards or Englishmen, the mothers Indians or Negresses. In Rajputana, on the other hand, hypergamy appears to be associated with territorial sovereignty and the possession of landed property. In theory all Rajputs are equal within the tribe, but ruling chiefs will only give their daughters to men of their own class, and a land-owning Rajput, deeming himself no doubt a chieftain in a small way, will not accept a landless man as his son-in-law. A curious story, which seems to belong to the same order of ideas, is told in the Punjab to account for the hypergamous status of one of the Jāt clans. One day, it is said, as the Emperor Akbar was out hunting, he came suddenly upon a Jāt woman who was standing by a well with a heavy jar of water on her head and a full grown buffalo and its calf on either side of her. The Emperor's cavalcade frightened the animals and they prepared to break away. But the sturdy Jātni was equal to the emergency. With one hand she seized the buffalo and held it by a horn, with the other she steadied the jar of water on her head, while she secured the calf by putting her foot on its tethering rope. Seeing this display of strength and presence of mind the Emperor exclaimed "a woman like that should be the mother of heroes," and shortly afterwards took her to wife in due form. Her people had places of honour given them in the Imperial Darbār, and the clan has been known ever afterwards as Akbari or Darbāri Jāts, ranking at the top of the hypergamous system of the tribe, taking wives from other clans, but giving their daughters to none.

A singularly complete parallel to the Indian usage of hypergamy occurs in Madagascar, where the Antimerina or patrician caste is divided into six classes each of which claims descent from a royal ancestor and regards itself as a group of blood relations. According



will determine that of the child (*patrem sequuntur liberi*), and that the appeal to religion is a mere attempt to prejudice the case. Now if the plebs and patriciate had been distinct castes in the strict Indian sense of the term, no intermarriage would have been possible, and the question of the offspring of mixed marriages belonging to their father's group could not have arisen. The argument *patrem sequuntur liberi* would have appealed to no one had it not been a statement of fact with which the audience were familiar. And it cannot have meant that if a plebeian man married a patrician woman the children ranked as plebeians, for if that had been so, there would have been full *connubium* and no legislation would have been required. It seems to follow that the statement expressed the fact that when a patrician man married a plebeian woman, the children were reckoned as patricians and belonged to the *gens* of the father—that the relations between the two groups were what we call hypergamous.

Whatever may have been the origin of the custom, whether slavery, conquest, racial superiority, political or plutocratic domination, or territorial supremacy gave it the first impulse, it is clear that, in any locality where it got started, the principle would be likely to extend itself, by the operation of imitative fiction, to the conubial relations of all classes not absolutely equal in rank. This is what seems to have happened in several parts of India, where the influence of hypergamy may be traced in the disturbance of the balance of the sexes, and the prevalence of polygamy or female infanticide.

Of all the peculiar usages which are associated with marriage in India none have impressed themselves so distinctly on the census statistics as the custom which prohibits the second marriage of a widow, and the convention enjoining the marriage of a daughter before she attains physical maturity. In the case of the higher castes both of these usages may claim a respectable antiquity. In the lower strata of society, on the other hand, they appear to have been developed, in the form which they now assume, at a comparatively recent date under the pressure of peculiar social conditions. Both, again, are looked upon by the people who observe them as badges of social distinction, and to the fact that they are regarded in this light is mainly due their rapid extension within the last two or three generations. No excuse therefore is needed for examining their prevalence and its causes in some detail.

Widow and infant  
marriage.

alternative of a life of ascetic self-denial and patient waiting to join the husband who has gone before. According to some authorities, they also recognize, though as a less excellent path than the two former, the alternative of remarriage.

I will not attempt to enter upon the controversy as to the precise meaning of the passage in Parāśara's Institutes, on which the modern advocates of widow marriage rely, still less to discuss its applicability to the present age of the world. It seems more profitable to state the causes which, irrespective of isolated texts, would in any case have favoured the growth of the modern custom which forbids the widows of the highest castes to marry again, and which shows signs of extending itself far beyond its present limits and finally of suppressing widow marriage throughout the entire Hindu community. Some, at any rate, of these causes are not far to seek. In the first place, the anxiety of the early Hindu law-givers to circumscribe a woman's rights to property would unquestionably tend to forbid her to join her lot to a man whose interest it would be to assert and extend those rights as against the members of her husband's family. At the same time the growth of the doctrine of spiritual benefit would require her to devote her life to the annual performance of her husband's\* *srāddh*. Technical obstacles to her remarriage also arise from the Brahmanical theory of marriage itself. That ceremony being regarded as a sacrament ordained for the purification of women, and its essential portion being the gift of the woman by her father to her husband, the effect of the gift is to transfer her from her own *gotra* or exogamous group into that of her husband. The bearing of this transfer on the question of her remarriage is thus stated by an orthodox Hindu at pages 276-277 of the *Papers relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood*, published by the Government of India :—

"Her father being thus out of the question, it may be said that she may give herself in marriage. But this she cannot do, because she never had anything like disposal of herself. When young, she was given away, so the ownership over her (if I may be permitted to use the phrase) vested then in the father, was transferred by a solemn religious act to the husband, and he being no more, there is no one to give her away : and since Hindu marriage must take the form of religious gift, her marriage becomes impossible."

The argument seems academic, but in the atmosphere of pedantry which pervades Indian society an academic argument is as good as any other.

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\* Tagore Law Lectures, 1879, pp. 187, 188.

in the higher castes would, as a rule, merely affect the standing of certain families in the scale of hypergamy, tend in the lower castes to form endogamous groups, the members of which intermarry only among themselves. The difference is important, as the latter process does not disturb the balance of the sexes, and the former does.

The present attitude of the Hindu community towards proposals

**Feeling of the  
people as to extension  
of widow marriage**

to recognize and extend the practice of widow marriage may, I think, be briefly stated somewhat to the following effect:—The most advanced class of educated men sympathise in a general way with the movement. but their sympathy is clouded by the apprehension that any considerable addition to the number of marriageable women would add to the existing difficulty and expense of getting their daughters married. Below these we find a very numerous class who are educated enough to appreciate the prohibition of widow marriage supposed to be contained in certain texts, and who have no desire to go behind that or any similar injunction in support of which tolerably ancient authority can be quoted. Then come the great mass of the uneducated working classes, with rather vague notions as to the scriptures, but strong in their reverence for Brahmans, and keen to appreciate points of social precedence. To them widow marriage is a badge of social degradation, a link which connects those who practise it with Doms, Bunas, Bāgdis and “low people” of various kinds. Lastly, at the bottom of society, as understood by the average Hindu, we find a large group of castes and tribes of which the lower section is represented by pure non-Aryan tribes practising adult marriage and widow re-marriage, while the upper section consists of castes of doubtful origin, most of whom, retaining widow marriage, have taken to infant marriage, while some have got so far as to throw off sub-castes distinguished by their abstention from widow marriage.

It is not suggested that the groups indicated above can be marked off with absolute accuracy. But without insisting upon this, it is clear that the tendency of the lower strata of Hindu society is continually towards closer and closer conformity with the usages of the higher castes. These alone present a definite pattern which admits up to a certain point of ready imitation, and the whole Brahmanical system works in this direction. Of late years, moreover, the strength of the Hinduising movement has been greatly augmented by the improvement of communications. People

youths and maidens which has been minutely described by several sympathetic observers. Directly we leave these tolerably compact tribes and pass on to the less definite groups which form a debatable land between the tribe and the caste, we find either infant marriage in undisputed possession or a mixed system prevailing, which tolerates adult marriage as a resource open to those who cannot afford to do anything better for their children, but at the same time enjoins the more respectable custom of infant marriage for all parents whose circumstances admit of it.

In the case of the lower castes there is little room for doubt that the custom of infant marriage has been consciously borrowed from the higher castes in obedience to that tendency to imitation which we may almost describe as an ultimate law of the caste system. But how did the higher castes come by a custom which is without a parallel, at any rate on so large a scale, elsewhere in the world, and which cannot be referred to any of those primitive instincts which have usually determined the relations of the sexes? Neither sexual passion nor the desire for companionship and service can be called in to account for a man marrying a girl at an age when she is physically incapable of fulfilling any of the duties of a wife. Primitive man knows nothing of infant marriage, nor is it easy to conceive how such an institution could have arisen in the struggle for existence out of which society has been evolved. The modern savage woos in a summary and not over delicate fashion a sturdy young woman who can cook his food, carry baggage, collect edible grubs, and make herself generally useful. To his untutored mind the Hindu child-bride would seem about as suitable a helpmate as a modern professional beauty. If, then, infant marriage is in no way a normal product of social evolution, and in fact is met with only in India, to what causes shall we look for its origin? The standard Brahmanical explanation is palpably inadequate. It represents marriage as a sort of sacrament, of which every maiden must partake in order that she may cleanse her own being from the taint of original sin, that she may accomplish the salvation of her father and his ancestors, and that she may bring forth a son to carry on the domestic worship (*sacra privata*) of her husband's family. So far as marriage itself goes, all this is intelligible enough as a highly specialised development of certain well-known ancient ideas. But

Origin of infant  
marriage.

Antiquity of the  
custom: its possible  
causes

The change from this Arcadian state of things to a régime of infant marriage seems to have taken place at a very early date. According to Baudhāyana a girl who is unmarried when she reaches maturity is degraded to the rank of a Sudra, and her father is held to have committed a grave sin by having neglected to get her married. This rule is common to all the law-books, and many of them go further still and fix a definite age for the marriage of girls. The later the treatise, the earlier is the age which it prescribes. According to Manu a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight. Later writers fix the higher limit of age in such cases at ten years or eight years, and reduce the lower limit to seven, six, and even four years. What induced people already practising a rational system of adult marriage to abandon it in favour of a rigid and complicated system of infant marriage? In the nature of things no confident answer can be given; the whole question belongs to the domain of conjecture. One can only surmise that the growth of the patriarchal power of the head of the family must have been adverse to any assertion of independence on the part of its female members, and more especially to their exercising the right of choosing their husbands for themselves. Where family interests were involved, it may well have seemed simpler to get a girl married before she had developed a will of her own, than to court domestic difficulties by allowing her to grow up and fall in love on her own account. The gradual lowering of the position of women from the ideal standard of Vedic times, and the distrust of their virtue induced by the example of pre-matrimonial license set by the Dravidian races must also have had its effect and, as is not obscurely hinted in the literature of the subject, a girl would be married as a child in order to avert the possibility of her causing scandal later on.

Apart from these general causes, a powerful influence must also have been exerted by the custom of hypergamy, which, as has been explained above, limits the number of possible husbands for the girls of the higher classes and thus compels the parents to endeavour to secure appropriate bridegrooms as soon as possible. That this motive operates strongly at the present day is plainly stated by one of the writers in the official publication already referred to,\* who says:—

\* Under these circumstances, when, in the case of a daughter, parents see that, unless they marry her at once, the one or two bridegrooms that there are open for their selection would be

\* *Papers relating to Infant Marriage and enforced Widowhood in India*, p. 178

first, which may perhaps be called the method of natural selection, is accepted and more or less acted up to by all Western nations, except those who follow the French custom of *mariages de convenance*. The second, a system of avowedly artificial selection, is in force, with few exceptions, throughout the East, and assumes its most rigid form in the usages of Hindu society. He might further observe that in entering upon this subject we must dismiss from our minds all those ideas of love and courtship with which, for most Europeans, the institution of marriage is associated. Whether such

**The case for infant  
marriage**

ideas will ever gain a footing in India is a question on which it would be rash to hazard an opinion.

To fancy it possible to introduce them on a large scale now would argue an ignorance of the elementary conditions of Eastern life rivalling that of the famous undergraduate who told the examiner that John the Baptist was beheaded because he *would* dance with Herodias' daughter. The dream of an Indian Hermann and Dorothea wandering hand in hand through the ripening rice-fields, and plighting their troth in the odorous stillness of the palm-grove, would be an equally grotesque misapplication of Western ideas to Eastern surroundings. Here and there, amongst the Hinduised Unitarians of the Brahmo-Samāj, or in the group of Anglicised Indians who, having finished their education in England and adopted more or less completely European clothes and European manners, seem now to be on the high road to form a new caste, it may be that marriage will be preceded by courtship of the European type. But even within these narrow circles such cases will for a long time to come be rare, and will be confined to those families which are afflicted with a surplus of daughters and find a difficulty in getting them married under normal conditions. For all Hindus, except the relatively small number who are influenced by European ideas on the subject of marriage, the bare idea that a girl can have any voice in the selection of her husband is excluded by the operation of three inexorable sanctions—by the ordinances of the Hindu religion, by the internal structure of the caste system, and by the general tone and conditions of social life in India. Religion prescribes that, like the Roman bride of early days, a Hindu girl shall be given (*tradita in manum*) by her father into the power of her husband; caste complications demand that the ceremonial portion of the transfer shall be effected while she is still a child; while the character of society, the moral tone of the men, the seclu-

No one who has seen a Panjābī regiment march past, or has watched the sturdy Jāt women lift their heavy water-jars at the village well, is likely to have any misgivings as to the effect of their marriage system on the *physique* of the race. Among the Rajputs both sexes are of slighter build than the Jāts, but here again there are no signs of degeneration. The type is different, but that is all.

As we leave the great recruiting ground of the Indian army, and travel south-eastward along the plains of the Ganges, the healthy sense which bids the warrior races keep their girls at home until they are fit to bear the burden of maternity seems to have been cast out by the demon of corrupt ceremonialism, ever ready to sacrifice helpless women and children to the tradition of a fancied orthodoxy. Already in the United Provinces we find the three highest castes—the Brahman, the Rajput, and the Kāyasth—permitting the bride, whether *apta viro* or not, to be sent to her husband's house immediately after the wedding ; although it is thought better, and is more usual, to wait for a second ceremony called *gauna*, which may take place one, three, five, or seven years after the first, and is fixed with reference to the physical development of the bride.

What is the exception in the United Provinces tends unhappily to become the rule in Bengal. Here the influence of woman's tradition (*stri-āchār*) has overlaid the canonical rites of Hindu marriage with a mass of senseless hocus-pocus (performed for the most part in the women's apartments at the back of the courtyard, which in India, as in ancient Greece, forms the centre of the family

**Abuses in Bengal.** domicile), and has succeeded, without a shadow of textual authority, in bringing about the monstrous abuse that the girls of the upper classes commence married life at the age of nine years, and become mothers at the very earliest time that it is physically possible for them to do so. How long this practice has been in force no one can say for certain. Nearly a century ago, when Dr. Francis Buchanan made his well-known survey of Bengal, embracing, under the first Lord Minto's orders, "the progress and most remarkable customs of each different sect or tribe of which the population consists," he wrote as follows of one of the districts in Bihar, the borderland between Bengal and the United Provinces :—

"Premature marriages among some tribes are, in Shahabad, on the same footing as in Bengal, that is, consummation takes place before the age of puberty. This custom, however, has not extended far, and the people are generally strong and tall. The Pamār Rajputs,

anxious to use their influence to defer the commencement of conjugal life until the wife has attained the full measure of physical maturity requisite to fit her for child-bearing. Here the great clans of Rajputana have set an example which deserves to be followed throughout India. Themselves among the purest representatives of the Indo-Aryan type, they have revived the best traditions of the Vedic age and have established for themselves the ordinance that no girl shall be married before she is fourteen years old and that the marriage expenses shall in no case exceed a certain proportion of the father's yearly income. That, I venture to think, is the aim which those who would reform society should, for the present, set before themselves. If they succeed in doing for India what Colonel Walter did for Rajputana, they will achieve more than any Indian reformer has yet accomplished. To bring back the Vedas is no unworthy ideal.

The Rajputana movement is so remarkable in itself and contains the germs of such high promise that it calls for fuller notice. Nearly twenty years ago, at the suggestion of Colonel Walter, then Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, all the Sardārs of the various States of Rajputana assembled at Ajmer for the purpose of discussing arrangements for regulating the expenses incurred on the occasion of marriages, deaths, etc., among Rajputs of all ranks except the ruling chiefs. By the unanimous decision of these leaders of Rajput society, a series of observances were prescribed which, revised from time to time, have now assumed the form of definite rules enforced by the influence of a society known, in grateful commemoration of its founder, as the Walterkrit Rajputra Hitakārini Sabhā. The chief Political Officer in Rajputana is the President of the Society, and in every State a committee is appointed, consisting of a Sardār, an official and members of the Chāran and Rāo castes, to make arrangements for carrying out the regulations regarding marriages and deaths and other instructions embodied in the rules.

Under the head of marriage expenses, if the marriage is that of a Thākur himself or of an eldest son, sister or daughter, the limit of expenditure is fixed on the following scale:—When the value of the State is below Rs. 1,000, not more than two-thirds of the annual income may be spent at the marriage; for values between Rs. 1,000



even this is not obligatory, and it is expressly stated that anybody may spend less if he likes.

As has been pointed out above, the expense involved in getting a daughter married has everywhere been the main factor in bringing about the evils which have grown up, and this explains the prominence given in the rules to the question of expenditure. The Society, however, did not stop there. They plainly stated their opinion that, "as a rule, boys and girls are married at an early age, notwithstanding that the evils of such a custom are well known to all and need no description." They then proceeded to lay down that boys and girls

should not be married before the ages of 18 and 14 respectively, and in order to guard against evasions of this rule, they provided that a half-yearly register of births, deaths and marriages should be kept up and submitted to the special committees at the capitals of the different States through the district officials or Nizā mats. A further rule prescribes that "whereas in this country marriage contracts are not made by the girl's choice, her guardians being entrusted with that duty, it is advisable that girls be not kept unmarried above the age of twenty years." With the object of discouraging polygamy, it has been ruled that no second marriage should take place during the life-time of the first wife unless she is afflicted with an incurable disease or has no offspring. As regards widowers, it is laid down that when a widower has attained the age of 45 years and has a son living, he should not contract another marriage; but if he is healthy and strong, he can marry a second wife, provided that the bride is above the age prescribed by the rules. Where, however, a widower of 45 years has an infant child by his deceased wife and it is difficult for him to bring up the child as well as to look after the household affairs, the State Committee can make a special exception to the rule after satisfying itself that it is proper to do so.

Marriage expenses are controlled by the rule that the number of persons accompanying a wedding party may not exceed twenty, except in the case of marriages on a large scale when it is to be determined at the rate of two men for every hundred rupees that may be spent by the girl's father. The marriage procession is to arrive at the house of the bride's father on the day fixed for the marriage, stay there for two days and take leave on the fourth or on the fifth day at the latest, if the fourth day is considered inauspicious for departure.

subject, and he observed that so eminent a Sanskrit scholar as Dr. Bhandārkar had held that there was really nothing in law or in the Hindu scriptures to make it obligatory upon a Hindu to marry his daughter before she is twelve. He added that if Dr. Bhāndārkar were right, the prevailing idea in Bengal and elsewhere that a girl must be married before a certain period in her life irrespective of her age was erroneous, while the fact that the highest class of Brahmans (Kulins) frequently do not marry their girls before they are past the age of twenty-one pointed to a similar conclusion. Mr. Manmohan Ghose considered that such a measure would have the effect of putting down the pernicious custom of child-marriage with its concomitant evils ; that it would meet with no serious opposition in the advanced province of Bengal ; and that it need not be extended to backward provinces until in the opinion of the Local Government they were ripe for such a measure. His views found no support among his countrymen in Bengal.

Three years after the publication of Mr. Manmohan Ghose's proposal, the Mysore State introduced a regulation to prevent infant marriages among the Hindus in the territory of Mysore. The scope of this enactment falls far short both of the Rajputana practice and of Mr. Manmohan Ghose's restricted suggestion, for it defines an infant girl as a girl who has not completed eight years of age. Any person who causes the marriage of an infant girl or aids or abets such a marriage, and any man over eighteen years of age who marries an infant girl, is liable on a prosecution sanctioned by the Government to be punished with simple imprisonment up to six months. It is obvious, however, that so far as the great majority of marriages are concerned, the Mysore law only touches the fringe of the evil, since a boy under eighteen can, if his people choose to run the risk of a prosecution, be married to a girl under eight, and no restriction at all is placed upon infant marriages between the ages of eight and fourteen. The law, indeed, seems to be mainly aimed at the practice of aged widowers marrying child-wives. Here it enacts that any man who having completed fifty years of age marries a girl who has not completed fourteen years of age, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both. Seeing that at the age of fourteen most girls are already married, it follows that a man over fifty can have very little chance of securing a wife.

operation, and it would not be without interest to take stock of the results achieved during this first year of its operation. That freedom to contract marriages within the prohibited limits of age, with the permission of the Civil Courts, has been freely availed of, would appear from the fact that no less than 695 applications were presented for such license; and the circumstance, that such permission was accorded in 68 per cent of such petitions, shows a liberal and sympathetic solicitude on the part of the Courts for the religious and social susceptibilities of the people. Some leniency was desirable in the first year of the execution of this law, to which the people had not been accustomed. At the same time it was necessary to enforce the new law, so that it might not be regarded as a dead letter; and 718 offenders were punished with fines, in sums ranging from one rupee to twenty-five rupees, during the year in the whole State. Seventy-eight per cent of the fines inflicted under this Act fell below five rupees, and only four per cent exceeded ten rupees. No better proof can be afforded of the indulgence with which offences against this special enactment have been dealt with.

‘The Act has already had a wholesome educative effect on the higher classes of the Hindu society; for, we find that the percentage of convictions among the three higher castes did not exceed five. The largest number of offenders belonged to the Dhed and Bhangi classes, which had no less than 39 per cent of convictions against them. The Kunbis or the cultivating classes had only 11 per cent, while the artisan classes had also an equal number. The percentage among Brahmans and Banias was less than two, and that among Mahomedans was about four,—a circumstance which clearly proves that it is only custom, and no religious behest or scriptural text, which supports the practice of early marriages. And when once the force of usage is broken, the progress of the desired reform is smoothed and accelerated even beyond our most sanguine expectations.’

The latest scheme for reforming the marriage usages of India by means of legislation is that put forward by Sardar Arjun Singh's Scheme Sardār Arjun Singh of Kapurthala at a meeting of the East India Association held in London on the 31st July, 1905, and published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1905. The Sardār sums up his proposals in the following words:—

‘Allowing that the Government interference is not desirable, has not the Government got other means to eradicate, or, at least,

to have no legislation on the subject, but to work out their own ideas, and to feel that they had been the authors of their own salvation.' It was now the turn of a Hindu to point out that the Arya Samājists were even more advanced in this matter than the Brahmos and had 'declared that any marriage of a boy under twenty-five and a girl under sixteen was unauthorized by law, was against religion, and was to a certain extent immoral ;' while the authorities of the Central Hindu College at Benares 'had ruled that no married boy would be admitted to their school.' The speaker expressed himself as opposed to legislation, and was supported in this by a Muhammadan who took the opportunity of protesting against the lecturer's conjecture that infant marriage was devised by the Hindus to secure their young women from the outrages of invaders from Central Asia. Finally, the Chairman, Sir Lepel Griffin, summed up the debate in a speech of admirable discretion, in the course of which he admitted that it was news to him to hear that the Mysore and Baroda States had legislated on the subject, and intimated a doubt whether the lecturer's proposal to fix the minimum age at twelve for boys and ten for girls would not be 'almost a retrograde step.'

It is perhaps a little surprising that a meeting of this kind, with a distinguished ex-political officer in the chair, should not have been aware that the very problem which they were engaged in discussing had been successfully approached in Rajputana nearly twenty years ago. In the face of that illustration of what people can do for themselves we may be absolved from discussing in detail the scheme for permissive legislation propounded by Sardār Arjun Singh. Few persons will share its author's belief, so characteristic of the modern Indian, in the efficacy of a public meeting as an instrument of social reform ; while no one can fail to be struck by

**Prospects of  
reform.**

the pathetic admission of one of his critics that young men brought up on English history and literature, and more or less imbued with European ideas of domestic morality, find their worst foes in the ladies of their own households. The fact, of course, is that in matters of this kind the Anglicised middle classes are hardly in a position to give a decisive lead. Their social standing is not such as to command universal respect, and their orthodoxy is often open to suspicion. The people who can exercise a real influence and set an example that will be followed are, in the first place, the ancient aristocracy of India, the men who in Rajputana have created and carried on the *Walterkrit*

be impossible to compel an Indian father to give his son to a girl whose parents had forgotten to get her married at the proper time.

Two forms of polyandry are recognized in the literature of the subject: the fraternal, where a woman becomes the joint wife of several brothers; and the matriarchal, where she has a number of husbands who are not necessarily related to each other. The essential feature is that the woman lives with several men *at the same time*. If her husbands are not synchronous but successive, if she lives with one husband for a year or so and then takes another, the

The two forms of arrangement may be morally reprehensible, polyandry. but it is not what is meant by polyandry.

Under both systems there is necessarily extreme uncertainty as to the parentage of the joint wife's children. Where the matriarchal form of polyandry prevails, this uncertainty affects the law of succession to property, since it is impossible to prove that a man living in a polyandrous group has ever had any children of his own. Consequently inheritance is traced through females, and a man's ordinary heir-at-law is his sister's son. Where fraternal polyandry is in fashion, the problem of paternity is equally obscure, and it is impossible to say for certain which of the brothers is the father of a particular child. But for working purposes it is assumed that one of them must be, and therefore the children belong to the same exogamous group as their fathers and inheritance to the joint property is reckoned in the male line.

There is abundant evidence to prove that matriarchal polyandry was at one time an established custom among the Nāyars of the Malabar coast. Thus Cæsar Fredericke, who travelled in those parts in the year 1563, writes of them:

'These men go naked from the girdle upwards, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and having their haire very long and rolled up together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their swordes naked, these Nairi have their wives common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of

Matriarchal any of these women, he leaveth his sworde polyandry. and target at the doore, and the time that he

is there, there dare not be any so hardie as to come into that house. The King's children shall not inherite the kingdom after their father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they

Mr. Fawcett of the Madras police writing in 1901 says that he has 'not known any admitted instance of polyandry amongst the Nāyars of Malabar at the present day,' and twenty years earlier Mr. Wigram wrote in his treatise on '*Malabar Law and Custom*' as follows :—

'Polyandry may now be said to be dead, and although the issue of a Nāyar marriage are still children of their mother rather than of their father, marriage may be defined as a contract based on mutual consent, and dissoluble at will. It has been well said (by Mr. Logan) that nowhere is the marriage tie, albeit informal, more rigidly observed or respected than it is in Malabar: nowhere is it more jealously guarded, or its neglect more savagely avenged.'

It is a peculiar and characteristic feature of Nāyar matrimonial usage that every woman goes through two forms of marriage. The first, *tāli kettu* or tying of the *tāli*, is purely ceremonial, and must take place before a girl attains puberty. Its essential incident consists in the nominal husband tying round her neck a tiny plate of gold shaped like the leaf of the Indian fig tree. The accompanying ritual is costly, and to neglect it entails social ostracism. Consequently, for economical reasons, one man is often engaged to tie the *tāli* on a number of girls of all ages from three months to twelve years. Having played his part in the ritual and received the  
The ceremonial husband. customary fee, the ceremonial husband goes his way and is never heard of again. His functions are purely formal, and he has no conjugal rights over any of the girls whom he has technically married. Opinions differ as to the origin of the *tāli kettu* marriage, and some observers regard it as a Brahman innovation of comparatively recent date. A different explanation is suggested by Capt. Hamilton's statement that "when the Zamorin marries, he must not cohabit with his bride till the Nambudri, or chief priest, has enjoyed her, and he, if he pleases, may have three nights of her company, because the first fruits of her nuptials must be an holy oblation to the god she worships. And some of the nobles are so complaisant as to allow the clergy the same tribute, but the common people cannot have that compliment paid them, but are forced to supply the priests' places themselves." It seems possible that the ceremony may be a survival of a primitive taboo on virginity which has in course of time become purely formal and has been overlaid by

people are apt to display when questioned on the subject, and in their manifest preference for discussing the connubial arrangements of some family other than their own. In Western Tibet even these faint signs of grace are wanting, and the account given by the latest observer points to the prevalence of considerable sexual depravity.

‘Each household contains for all practical purposes three or four families,\* and one can imagine the atmosphere in which the children are brought up with polyandry all round them, and when the time comes for a girl to enter another similar household, and be the bride of numerous brothers, it may truly be said that there is no modesty left in her. Merchants and officials from Lhasa can anywhere get women throughout Western Tibet to live with them temporarily for the mere asking, even of the best local families.’

At the time of the last Census polyandry as practised in Sikkim and Eastern Tibet was enquired into by Mr. Earle, then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, on the basis of a set of questions drawn up by me in 1891. The information collected was carefully verified and may be regarded as substantially correct.

‘If the eldest of a group of brothers marries a woman, she is regarded as the common wife of all the brothers. It does not, however, necessarily follow that she will cohabit with all the younger brothers. She exercises much liberty in this respect, and it will depend upon her pleasure as to whether she will cohabit with any particular younger brother. If the eldest brother (*i.e.*, the real husband) dies, the wife passes to one of the younger brothers according to her own selection. Should her choice fall on the next brother, she will still be the common wife of the younger brothers. Should, however, she select any of the younger brothers, she will be the common wife only of those younger than him, and, if he be the youngest, she will be his wife only. If the eldest brother of a group of brothers does not marry, but the second or third brother does so, then the wife will be the common wife of such second or third brother and his younger brothers only. Elder brothers, in such cases, will separate and leave the family, having no claim on the wives of the younger brothers. Cousins, both on the father’s and mother’s side, and half-brothers may be admitted as members of the group of brothers only if the husband agrees and has no brothers

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\* *Western Tibet and the British Borderland* —Charles A. Sherring, 1906, p. 190

sexes are single and not more than a third are married, the proportion of the widowed is only one in thirty for males and one in thirteen for females. The actual number of widows in India in 1901 was nearly twenty-six millions, while the widowers numbered only eighteen millions. Between the ages of forty and sixty every other woman is a widow, and even at the earlier period of from thirty to forty, one woman in five finds herself in the same unfortunate condition.

These general characteristics—the universality of marriage, the prevalence of early marriage, and the frequency of premature widowhood—are in the case of Hindus accentuated by the influence of religion or inviolable usage. Both sexes marry earlier than is the case with the population at large, and of the unmarried girls only one in every fourteen has turned her fifteenth year. Nearly half of the girls between the ages of ten and fifteen are married, while of those between fifteen and twenty only one-fifth have failed to find husbands. This vision of domestic felicity is clouded by the fact that one in every five Hindu women is a widow. Many of them are condemned to a life of penance and humiliation at a comparatively early age, while some are mere infants who have never known their husbands and have had no chance of bearing a child.

Judged by a European standard, the matrimonial relations of the Muhammadans are less abnormal than those of the Hindus. Marriage is a civil function; its cost is not swollen by the demands of a swarm of greedy priests; the field of selection is larger and is less affected by artificial restrictions relating to social status; and there is no bar to widows marrying again. The males marry later in life, and the pitiful spectacle of a struggling student hampered by a wife and children while he is still cramming for University examinations is less frequent than among Hindus. In the case of females the contrast is still more marked. Among Muhammadan girls between the ages of five and ten only seven per cent are married compared with twelve per cent among Hindus; while between ten and fifteen the proportion of child-wives is thirty-nine for Muhammadans and forty-seven for Hindus. The marriage expenses are on a less extravagant scale; bridegrooms are not bought and sold for fantastic prices; and the balance of the sexes is not disturbed by the pernicious custom of hypergamy. In respect of widowhood the Muhammadans are also



husband at all and to the painful repression of the craving for maternity which is nowhere stronger than in India? To treat the symptom does not necessarily cure the disease, although it may induce new symptoms. Supposing Kulin polygamy to be effectively abolished by repressive legislation or social disapproval, the surplus of marriageable girls resulting from hypergamy would still remain. What is to become of them? European experience suggests that enforced celibacy on a large scale is not invariably an ideal condition. If therefore a fresh set of evils is to be avoided, the reformers would do wisely to follow Mr. Girindra Nath Dutt's advice and strike boldly at hypergamy, whatever form it may assume. This they can only deal with themselves, since legislation on the subject would plainly be futile. Indigenous complaints demand indigenous remedies.

Whatever may be the case in Bengal, the following extract from the recently published *District Gazetteer* seems to be conclusive as to the existence of polygamy among the Brāhmans of Muzaffarpur, a district forming part of the ancient tract of Mithila whence, according to Mr. Girindra Nath Dutt, the system of Kulinism was borrowed some centuries ago by the Brāhmans of Bengal. Most of the Muzaffarpur Brāhmans belong to the Maithil or Tirhutiyā sub-caste, which is divided into five hypergamous groups—Srotriya or Sote, Jog, Pāñjibaddh, Nagar and Jaiwār. The men of each group may take wives from the groups ranking below it in this scale of social precedence, but the women can only marry in their own or in a higher group.

'Polygamy,' says Mr. O'Malley, the author of this interesting volume, 'is practised among these Brāhmans by the Bikauwā or "Vendor"—a class of Maithil Brāhmans who derive their name from the practice of selling themselves, or more rarely their minor sons, to the daughters of the lower groups of the series given above. Some have as many as forty or fifty wives, who live with their own parents and are visited at intervals by their husbands. Bikauwā Brāhmans who have married into the lower classes are not received on equal terms by the members of their own class, but the women whom they marry consider themselves raised by the alliance. The price paid for a Bikauwā varies according to the class to which he belongs and the means of the family of the girl whom he is to marry. It may be as little as Rs. 20: it has been known to rise as high as Rs. 6,000.'

Islam is a force of the volcanic sort, a burning and integrating force, which, under favourable conditions, may even make a nation. It melts and fuses together a whole series of tribes, and reduces their internal structure to one uniform pattern, in which no survivals of pre-existing usages can be detected. The separate strata disappear; their characteristic fossils are crushed out of recognition; and a solid mass of law and tradition occupies their place. Hinduism, transfused as it is by mysticism and ecstatic devotion, and resting ultimately on the esoteric teachings of transcendental philosophy, knows nothing of open proselytism or forcible conversion, and attains its ends in a different and more subtle fashion, for which no precise analogue can be found in the physical world. It leaves existing aggregates very much as they were, and so far from welding them together, after the manner of Islam, into larger cohesive aggregates, tends rather to create an indefinite number of fresh groups; but every tribe that passes within the charmed circle of Hinduism inclines sooner or later to abandon its more primitive usages or to clothe them in some Brahmanical disguise. The strata, indeed, remain, or are multiplied; their relative positions are, on the whole, unaltered; only their fossils are metamorphosed into more advanced forms. One by one the ancient totems drop off, or are converted by a variety of ingenious devices into respectable personages of the standard mythology; the fetish gets a new name, and is promoted to the Hindu Pantheon in the guise of a special incarnation of one of the greater gods; the tribal chief sets up a family priest, starts a more or less romantic family legend, and in course of time blossoms forth as a new variety of Rājput. His people follow his lead, and make haste to sacrifice their women at the shrine of social distinction. Infant-marriage with all its attendant horrors is introduced; widows are forbidden to marry again; and divorce, which plays a great, and on the whole, a useful part in tribal society, is summarily abolished. Throughout all these changes, which strike deep into the domestic life of the people, the fiction is maintained that no real change has taken place, and every one believes, or affects to believe, that things are with them as they have been since the beginning of time.

It is curious to observe that the operation of these tendencies has been quickened, and the sphere of their action enlarged, by the great extension of railways which has taken place in India during the last few years. Both

**Hinduism and Islam.**

**Railways and religion.**

fourth which seeks to accentuate characteristics overlooked by the rest.

The earliest and best known name, Fetishism, was first brought into prominence by Charles de Brosses, President of the Parliament of Burgundy, who published in 1760 a book called *Du Culte des Dieux Fétiches, ou Parallèle de l' ancienne Religion de l' Egypte avec la Religion actuelle de la Nigritie*. De Brosses was a man of very various learning. He ranked high in his day among the historians of the Roman Republic; he wrote a scientific treatise on the origin of language; he is recognized as one of the founders of the modern school of anthropological mythology; and he is believed to have invented the names Australia and Polynesia. He did not, however, invent, nor was he even the first to use, the word fetish, which is a variant of the Portuguese *fetiço* or *fetisso*, an amulet or talisman, derived from the Latin *factitius*, 'artificial,'

**Fetishism** 'unnatural,' and hence 'magical.' It was employed, naturally enough, by the Portuguese navigators of the sixteenth century to describe the worship of stocks and stones, charms, and a variety of queer and unsavoury objects, which struck them as the chief feature of the religion of the negroes of the Gold Coast. Nor did de Brosses travel so far on the path of generalization as some of his followers. He assumed indeed that Fetishism was the beginning of all religion, since no lower form could be conceived; but he did not extend its domain like Bastholm, who in 1805 claimed as fetishes 'everything produced by nature or art which receives divine honour, including sun, moon, earth, air, fire, water, mountains, rivers, trees, stones, images, and animals if considered as objects of divine worship.'

For some five and twenty years after Bastholm wrote, the term Fetishism lay buried in the special literature of anthropology, whence it seems to have been unearthed by Auguste Comte, who used it, in connexion with his famous *loi des trois états*, as a general name for all the forms of primitive religion which precede and insensibly pass into polytheism. Comte described the mental attitude of early man towards religion as 'pure fetishism, constantly characterized by the free and direct exercise of our primitive tendency to conceive all external bodies whatsoever, natural or artificial, as animated by a life essentially analogous to our own, with mere differences of intensity.\*' His authority, combined with the natural attractions of a

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\* Comte, *Philosophie Positive*, vol. V, p. 30, quoted by Tylor.

is the recognition of the Shaman, medicine man, wizard, or magician, as the authorized agent by whom unseen powers can be moved to cure disease, to reveal the future, to influence the weather, to avenge a man on his enemy, and generally to intervene for good or evil in the affairs of the visible world. The conception of the character of the powers invoked varies with the culture of the people themselves. They may be gods or demons, spirits or ancestral ghosts, or their nature may be wholly obscure and shadowy. In order to place himself *en rapport* with them, the Shaman lives a life apart, practises or pretends to practise various austerities, wears mysterious and symbolical garments, and performs noisy incantations in which a sacred drum or enchanted rattle takes a leading part. On occasion he should be able to foam at the mouth and go into a trance or fit, during which his soul is supposed to quit his body and wander away into space. By several observers these seizures have been ascribed to epilepsy, and authorities quoted by Peschel go so far as to say that the successful Shaman selects the pupils whom he trains to succeed him from youths with an epileptic tendency. It seems possible, however, that the phenomena supposed to be epileptic may really be hypnotic. In this and other respects there is a general resemblance between the Shaman and the spiritualist medium of the present day. Both deal in much the same wares, and spiritualism is little more than modernized Shamanism. Nevertheless, though the principle of Shamanism is proved, by these and other instances, to be widely diffused and highly persistent, it does not cover the entire field of primitive superstition, and it is misleading to use the name of a part for the purpose of defining the whole. Still less can we follow Lubbock in treating Shamanism as a necessary stage in the progress of religious development, or Peschel in extending the term to the priesthoods of organized religions like Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Islam. Traces of Shamanism may have survived in all of them, as in the witchcraft occasionally met with in modern Europe; but to call their hierarchy Shamanistic is to ignore historical development and to confuse the Yogi with the Brahman, and the Fakir with the Mullah.

The word Animism was first used to denote the metaphysical system of Georg Ernst Stahl, the originator of the chemical hypothesis of Phlogiston, who revived in scientific form the ancient

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second volume was published twenty-five years after the first, and bears the imprimatur of the St. Petersburg Censor which is wanting in the earlier volume.

While I entirely accept Animism, as the best name that we are likely to get, some objections to which it is liable may perhaps be mentioned. In the first place, it connotes, or seems to connote, the idea that gods are merely the ghosts or shadows of men, projected in superhuman proportions, like the spectre of the Brocken, on the misty background of the unknown, but still in their inception nothing but common ghosts. Definitions, of course, cannot be judged merely by etymology, but a name which appears to beg a controverted question is *pro tanto* not a good name. Moreover, this particular name, failing the explanations necessary to bring out its limitations, seems to have done some real dis-service to science, and that in a branch of investigation where a name counts for a great deal. One may almost say of Animism that it has given rise to a new bias, the anthropological bias. The theological or missionary bias we know, and are prepared to discount. It leads those who are possessed by it to regard all alien gods, in one case as devils, and in another as degenerate survivals of an original revelation or intuition. But the tutored anthropologist is worse than the untutored missionary. He knows the game only too well; he sees what his theory of origins allows him to see, and he unconsciously shapes the evidence in the collecting so as to fit the theory with which Mr. Tylor has set him up. Secondly, it admits of being confused with the idea, common to savages and children, that all things are animated, a notion not easy to reconcile with the ghost theory of religion, which is based on the assumption that primitive man was profoundly impressed by the difference between the dead and the living and evolved therefrom the conception of spirit. Thirdly, the name leaves out of account, or at any rate inadequately expresses, what may be called the impersonal element in early religion, an element which seems to me to have been rather overlooked. In touching on this point I am reluctant to add yet another conjecture to a literature already so prolific in more or less ingenious guesses. But I have had the good fortune, while settling a series of burning disputes about land, to have been brought into very intimate relations with some of the strongest and most typical Animistic races in India, and thus to have enjoyed some special opportunities of studying Animism in those forest solitudes which are its natural home. More especially in Chutia Nagpur, where this religion still survives in its pristine vigour, my endeavours to find out what the jungle people really do

have not yet been clothed with individual attributes ; they linger on as survivals of the impersonal stage of early religion.

If we assume for the moment the possibility that some such **Impersonal ele- mental forces** conception, essentially impersonal in its character and less definite than the idea of a spirit, may have formed the germ of primitive religion, one can see how easily it may have escaped observation. The languages of wild people are usually ill-equipped with abstract terms, and even if they had a name for so vague and inchoate a notion, it would certainly have to be translated into the religious vocabulary of their anthropomorphic neighbours. A Santāl could only explain Marang Buru, 'the great mountain,' by saying that it was a sort of *Deo* or god. A Mech or Dhimāl could give no other account of the reverence with which he regards the Tista river, a frame of mind amply justified by the destructive vagaries of its snow-fed current. On the same principle a writer\* of the 17th century says of the West African natives that 'when they talk to whites, they call their idolatry *Fitisiken*, I believe because the Portuguese called sorcery *fitiso*.' In Melanesia, according to Dr. Codrington, 'plenty devil' is the standard formula for describing a sacred place, and the Fiji word for devil has become the common appellation of the native ghosts or spirits. So it is with the Animistic races of India. If they are questioned about their religion, they can only reply in terms of another religion, in Sanskrit derivatives which belong to a wholly different order of ideas. And when we find in Melanesia the very people who put off the inquisitive foreigner with the comprehensive word devil, still retaining the belief in incorporeal beings with neither name nor shape, round whom no myths have gathered, who are not and never have been human, who control rain and sunshine and are kindly disposed towards men, one is tempted to conjecture that the same sort of belief would be found in India by any one who could adequately probe the inner consciousness of the Animistic races.

The hypothesis that the earliest beginnings of savage religion **Origin of unwor- shipped supreme beings.** are to be sought in the recognition of elemental forces to which, in the first instance, no personal qualities are ascribed, may perhaps afford an explanation of a problem which has exercised several enquirers

\* W. J. Muller, *Die Africamsche Landschaft Fetu*, Nuremberg, 1675, quoted by Max Müller, *Anthropological Religion*, p. 120.

changes its character. The materialistic processes which consist of imitating the outward and visible effects of natural forces give place to spells, incantations, and penances which are supposed to compel the gods to obey the commands of the magician. In course of time magic itself is ousted by religion, and banished to those holes and corners of popular superstition where it still survives in varying degrees of strength.

The theory carries us still further. It endeavours to account, by  
Beginnings of Religion the operation of known processes of thought, not merely for what Mr. Lang calls 'the high gods of low races,' but also for the entire congeries of notions from which the beginnings of religion have gradually emerged. It supposes that early man's first contact with his surroundings gave him the idea of a number of influences, powers, tendencies, forces, outside and other than himself, which affected him in various ways. His dealings with these were at first determined by the rudimentary principle of association, common to men and other animals, that like causes like. In that early stage of his mental development the primitive philosopher did not impute personal attributes of any kind to the something not himself which made for his comfort or the reverse ; nor did he suppose that the effects which the various somethings produced were brought about by the action of any individual even remotely resembling himself. Had he entertained any such idea, it is difficult to see how magic could ever have come into existence, still less how it could have preceded the development of what we call religion. For the essence of magic is compulsion. *Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.* If certain operations are accurately gone through, certain results are bound to follow, as a mere sequence of effect and cause. The earliest type of such processes is what is called imitative magic, because it imitates the phenomena which it seeks to produce. Or, to put the case in another way, it attempts to set a cause in motion by mimicking its consequences. Fires are lighted to make the sun shine in season ; water is sprinkled in a shower of drops with the object of inducing rain. In either case the operation is of a quasi-scientific character, and the operator endeavours to control a natural force by imitating its manifestations on a small scale. His mental attitude is so far removed from our own that it would be futile to attempt to analyse it, but it seems to involve the same kind of instinctive or semi-conscious association of ideas, of which instances may be observed among intelligent animals such as monkeys and dogs.

section of his disciples. A revelation was said to have been received enjoining that the chair used by him during his life should be set apart and kept sacred, and the Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council was invited to arbitrate in the matter. Sir Courtenay Ilbert discreetly refused 'to deal with testimony of a kind inadmissible in a Court of Justice ;' the parties to the dispute arrived at a compromise among themselves ; and the apotheosis of the famous preacher remained incomplete. In Bombay a personage of a very different type has been promoted to divine honours. Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha Confederacy, has a temple and image in one of the bastions of the fort at Malvan in the Ratnagiri district and is worshipped by the Gauda caste of fishermen. This seems to be a local cult, rather imperfectly developed, as there are no priests and no regular ritual. But within the last generation smaller men have attained even wider recognition. By the aid of railways and printing, the fame of a modern deity may travel a long way. Portraits of Yashvantrâo, a subordinate revenue officer in Khandesh, who ruined himself by promiscuous alms-giving, and sacrificed his official position to his reluctance to refuse the most impossible requests, are worshipped at the present day in thousands of devout households. Far down in the south of India, I have come across cheap lithographs of a nameless Bombay ascetic, the Swâmi of Akalkot in Sholapur, who died about twenty years ago. In life the Swâmi seems to have been an irritable saint, for he is said to have pelted with stones any ill-advised person who asked questions about his name and antecedents. As he was reputed to be a Mutiny refugee, he may have had substantial reasons for guarding his incognito. He is now revered from the Deccan to Cape Comorin as Dattâtreyâ, a sort of composite incarnation of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, and has a temple and monastery of his own.

Facts such as these lead one to surmise that some students of the modern science of religion have been so impressed by the undeniable facility with which historical personages are transformed into gods that they have rather overlooked the stages by which ancestor-worship has grown up, and have assumed that its latest form was also its earliest. Now, in India at any rate, we can trace in the funeral ceremonies, both of the Hindus and the Animists, survivals of ideas which have every appearance of going back to a far older phase of the religious instinct than that which leads to the deification of famous men. In the Vedic ritual, for example, as given by Gobhila,



guests from revisiting the abodes of the living. If these are the oldest ideas on the subject, as most authorities seem to hold, are we not justified in regarding with some suspicion the theory that everywhere and among all people the first step in the evolution of religion was the transformation of the *revenant* into a god? At any rate, the beliefs and practices of the most vigorous of the Dravidian races, the compact tribes of Santāls, Mundās, Orāons, and Hos, seem so far as they go to lend some support to the hypothesis that the beginnings of religion are to be sought in the recognition of impersonal forces which men endeavour to coerce by magic; that personal gods, approached by prayer and sacrifice, are a later development; and that the deification of chiefs and ancestors is probably the latest stage of all—a stage reached, it may be, by means of the ambitious fiction which commenced by claiming certain gods as ancestors, and ended by transforming some ancestors into gods.

We may now sum up the leading feature of Animism in India.

#### Animism in India.

It conceives of man as passing through life surrounded by a ghostly company of powers, elements, tendencies, mostly impersonal in their character, shapeless phantasms of which no image can be made and no definite idea can be formed. Some of these have departments or spheres of influence of their own: one presides over cholera, another over small-pox, and another over cattle disease; some dwell in rocks, others haunt trees, others again are associated with rivers, whirlpools, waterfalls, or with strange pools hidden in the depths of the hills. All of them require to be diligently propitiated by reason of the ills which proceed from them, and usually the land of the village provides the ways and means for this propitiation. In the Ranchi district of Chutia Nagpur there is a tenure called *Bhut-Kheta*, which may be interpreted Devil's Acre, under which certain plots of land are set apart for the primitive priest whose duty it is to see that offerings are made in due season, and that the villagers are protected from the malign influences of the shadowy powers who haunt the dark places of their immediate environment. The essence of all these practices is magic. If certain things are done decently and in order, the powers of evil are rendered innocuous in a mechanical but infallible fashion. But the rites must be correctly performed, the magic formulæ must be accurately pronounced, or else the desired effect will not be produced. It is, I think, unfortunate that at the time when Dr. Tylor's great book on *Primitive Culture* was written, the essential distinction between

*Animism more or less transformed by philosophy* or, to condense the epigram still further, as *magic tempered by metaphysics*. The fact is that within the enormous range of beliefs and practices which are included in the term Hinduism, there are comprised entirely different sets of ideas, or, one may say, widely different conceptions of the world and of life. At one end, at the lower end of the series is Animism, an essentially materialistic theory of things which seeks by means of magic to ward off or to forestall physical disasters, which looks no further than the world of sense, and seeks to make that as tolerable as the conditions will permit. At the other end is Pantheism combined with a system of transcendental metaphysics.

I will give two simple illustrations of the lower set of ideas. In  
 Illustration of Animistic ideas a small sub-divisional court, where I used once to dispense what passed for justice in the surrounding jungles, there was tied to the railings which fenced off the presiding officer from the multitude a fragment of a tiger's skin. When members of certain tribes, of whom the Santāls were a type, came into court to give evidence, they were required to take a peculiar but most impressive oath the use of which was, I believe, entirely illegal. Holding the tiger's skin in one hand, the witness began by invoking the power of the sun and moon, and, after asseverating his intention to speak the truth, he ended up by devoting himself to be devoured by the power of the tiger in case he should tell a lie. Some of the tribes who used to swear this weird oath have now been caught up in the wide-spread net of Hinduism, and have already parted with their tribal identity. Others again, like the Santāls, are made of sterner stuff, and still preserve an independent existence as compact and vigorous tribes. But the oath deserves remembrance as a vivid presentment of the order of ideas that prevails on the very outskirts of Hinduism. The reality of these ideas and the effectiveness of the sanction which they invoke, were sufficiently attested by the manifest reluctance of a mendacious witness to touch the magic skin, and by the zeal with which the court usher insisted upon his taking a firm grasp of it. The people who swore thus in fear and trembling, and having sworn usually told the truth according to their lights, were not in the least afraid of the mere physical tiger. On the contrary, they slew him without the smallest compunction, and carried off his corpse in triumph to claim the Government reward. Their most effective weapon was a very powerful bamboo bow, trained on the tiger's customary path, and carrying a poisoned

on the flat roof of the huge pile of buildings which is occupied by the secretariats of the Government of India. The worshippers, some thirty in number, engaged as their priest a Punjābi Brāhman, who was employed in the same capacity as themselves. They took one of the large packing cases which are used to convey office records from Simla to Calcutta, and covered its rough wood work with plantain leaves and branches of the sacred *pīpal* tree. On this foundation they set up an office despatch box which served as a sort of altar; in the centre of the altar was placed a common English glass ink-pot with a screw top, and round this were arranged the various sorts of stationery in common use, penholders and pen-nibs, red, blue, and black pencils, pen-knives, ink erasers, foolscap and letter-paper, envelopes, postage stamps, blotting paper, sealing wax, in short, all the clerkly paraphernalia by means of which the Government of India justifies its existence. The whole was draped with abundant festoons of red tape. To the fetish thus installed each of the worshippers presented with reverential obeisance grains of rice, turmeric, spices, pepper and other fruits of the earth, together with the more substantial offering of nine copper pice or farthings—‘*numero deus impari gaudet*’—the perquisite of the officiating priest. The Brahman then recited various cabalistic formulæ, supposed to be texts from the Vedas, of which neither he nor the worshippers understood a single word. When the ceremony was over, the worshippers attacked a vast mass of sweetmeats which had been purchased by a subscription of a rupee a head. The Brahman ate as much as he could, and they finished the rest. I asked my informant, who is a small land-owner in one of the hill States near Simla, what he meant by worshipping an imported ink-pot when he ought to have worshipped a country-made plough. He admitted the anomaly, but justified it by observing that after all he drew pay from the department; that the ink-pot was the emblem of the Government; and that he had left his plough in the hills. These are the lower aspects of Hinduism, survivals of magical observances which show no signs of falling into disuse.\*

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\* The practice of worshipping office furniture seems to be older than I had supposed. I am indebted to the Honourable Mr Miller, C.S.I., Member of the Viceroy's Council, for the following quotation: “All the working classes offer sacrifices and worship on stated days to the implements through which their subsistence is obtained; Sāhukārs and merchants to their ledgers and hoards of treasure; and revenue servants to the Daftar, or public records, of their departments.” *Report on the Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore*. By Richard Jenkins, Esq., Resident at the Court of the Rajah of Nagpore, 1827, p. 53

Here we seem at first sight to have travelled very far from the chaos of impersonal terrors that forms the stuff of which primitive religion is made. Yet it is easier to trace Pantheism to the gradual consolidation of the multifarious forces of Animism into one philosophic abstraction than to divine how a host of personal gods could have been stripped of their individual attributes and merged in a sexless and characterless world-soul. In a word, Animism seems to lead naturally to Pantheism; while the logical outcome of Polytheism is Monotheism. The former process has completed itself in India; the latter may be yet to come.

Between these extremes of practical magic at the one end and transcendental metaphysics at the other, there is room for every form of belief and practice that it is possible for the human imagination to conceive. Worship of elements, of natural features and forces, of deified men, ascetics, animals, powers of life, organs of sex, weapons, primitive implements, modern machinery; sects which enjoin the sternest forms of asceticism; sects which revel in promiscuous debauchery; sects which devote themselves to hypnotic meditation; sects which practise the most revolting form of cannibalism—all of these are included in Hinduism and each finds some order of intellect or sentiment to which it appeals. And through all this bewildering variety of creeds there is traceable the influence of a pervading pessimism, of the conviction that life, and more especially the prospect of a series of lives, is the heaviest of all burdens that can be laid upon man. The one ideal is to obtain release from the ever-turning wheel of conscious existence, and to sink individuality in the impersonal spirit of the world.

Pantheism in India is everywhere intimately associated with the doctrine of metempsychosis. The origin of this belief, deeply engrained as it is in all ranks of Indian society, is wholly uncertain. Professor Macdonell tells us that 'the Rig Veda contains no traces of it beyond the couple of passages in the last book which speak of the soul of a dead man as going to the waters or spirits,' and he surmises that the Aryan settlers may have received the first impulse in this direction from the aboriginal inhabitants of India. To any Indian official who has served in a district where the belief in witchcraft is prevalent, the conjecture appears a peculiarly happy one, for in the course of exercising his ordinary magisterial functions, he will have come across abundant evidence of the widespread conviction among savage

**Transmigration and  
Karma.**

of the problem touched upon above in the concluding episode of one of his most telling dialogues—*The Shades at the Ferry or the Tyrant*. The scene opens with Charon waiting on the shore of Acheron for the daily consignment of souls which Hermes ought to have delivered. He complains to Clotho that he has not taken a penny

all day, though the boat might have made three journeys if the passengers had only been up to time. At last Hermes appears puffing and blowing, drenched in sweat, and all over dust. He apologizes for being late, and explains how he took over from Atropos 1,004 souls; but when Æacus came to check them with the invoice he found one short, and made unpleasant remarks about Hermes' thievish propensities and his talent for practical jokes. It was then discovered that one Megapenthes, the tyrant of a small Greek city, whom his courtiers had poisoned, had managed to slip away and Hermes, aided by the shade of a sturdy philosopher armed with a club, had a sharp race to catch him just as he was regaining the light of day. Even when recaptured and dragged down to the boat, Megapenthes still struggles for a respite. He offers Clotho ten thousand talents and two golden mixing bowls, for which he had murdered his friend Kleokritus, as a bribe to let him live till he can complete his half-finished palace, or can at least tell his wife where his great treasure is buried. When this is refused, he makes what he calls the modest request to live long enough to conquer the Persians, to exact tribute from the Lydians, and to build himself a colossal monument. Eventually he is hustled into the boat, and the cobbler Micyllus is deputed to sit on his head and keep him quiet.

While crossing the ferry, Charon collects the fares from every one except the philosopher and the cobbler, neither of whom has an obolus to his name. On landing, the ghostly company are brought before Rhadamanthus; each one is stripped to show the brands which his past sins have stamped upon his soul (surely an artistic echo of the doctrine of *Karma*) and the cases proceed. The philosopher Cyniscus, who helped to catch Megapenthes, appears as his prosecutor; Hermes calls on the case. The tyrant pleads guilty to a variety of murders, but denies certain other counts in the indictment. The dialogue continues:—

‘Cy.—I can bring witnesses to these points too, Rhadamanthus.

*Rhad.*—Witnesses, eh?

immortality marred by old memories would be at best but a sorry boon, while, if purged of its memories, it would not be immortality at all. Achilles, as we see him in the *Odyssey* striding across the mead of asphodel, is haunted by heroic discontent ; had he drunk the waters of Lethe, he would have purchased harmony with his surroundings at the price of his unique personality. Arguing from the experiences duly recorded by Homer and other classical authorities, it would seem that in order to find even Elysium a tolerable abode, the shade of a departed hero ought to be furnished with a discreetly eclectic memory, which would reject all things disagreeable, and would recall only the pleasant incidents of the vista of the past. Failing this alternative, which would have savoured too frankly of the miraculous to commend itself to his critical temperament, one can imagine Lucian accepting, as a comfortable *pis-aller*, the Hindu solution or evasion of the problem by which the fatal gift of eternal reminiscence is bestowed only on those who have been so wise and virtuous as to have neither faults nor follies to forget.

Comparisons have frequently been drawn between various aspects of life under the later Roman Empire and corresponding phases of Indian society under British rule. In the domain of religion the resemblances and contrasts between the two sets of phenomena are close and striking. In both our attention is at once engaged by the

<p><b>Ancient ism and Hinduism.</b></p>	<p><b>Pagan- ism and modern</b></p>	<p>bewildering multitude of deities embodying in human or animal form the visible powers of nature and the great operative principles that underlie them, birth and decay, death and regeneration, the cycle of conscious existence with its infinite variety, the lusts of the flesh, the pride of life, and the more subtle pride of ascetic renunciation. The motley crowd comprises gods who once were men, gods borrowed from strange people whose origin is a mystery, gods of hills and woods, rivers and streams, guardians of the collective life of the village, patrons of the family life that centres round the domestic hearth, kindly ancestors who watch over the destinies of their descendants, spiteful and malicious ghosts of those who came to a bad end, or were denied the appointed rites of sepulture. Of all these types of divinity there were countless instances in the Roman Empire of Saint Augustine's time as in the India of to-day. In Rome too, as in India, the higher minds had risen under the influence of philosophy to the conception of one great central power, the unknown and perhaps unknowable reality hidden behind the crowd</p>
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ally extended, and it may well be that the narrow formalism of the early Roman religion predisposed its votaries to embrace the more emotional beliefs of the East. Professor Dill finds an illustration of this in the popularity of the worship of Mithra, a solar cult adopted about 70 B. C. from certain Cilician pirates conquered by Pompey. Mithraism seems to have appealed to the Roman world by the mystical character of its ritual, by its secret ceremonies of initiation into a close guild of devotees comprising many degrees of holiness, and by its promise of purification from sin which culminated in the Taurobolium or baptism to righteousness in the blood of a slaughtered bull. Nothing could well be more foreign to the ideas of the elder generation of Romans, who looked upon religious observances as a sort of legal obligation towards the gods and discouraged as *superstitio* any excessive manifestation of devotion. Yet nothing brings out more clearly the innate adaptiveness of the Roman form of Paganism, which in this respect closely resembles Hinduism. It may be that Hinduism has borrowed more extensively than we know, but the foreign material has been so completely absorbed that its source can no longer be traced. This process must have been facilitated by the fact that, unlike some of the races conquered by Rome, the Dravidians themselves were anxious to adopt Hinduism, and were merged along with their tribal deities in a system which makes ample provision for both social and religious obligations.

On its metaphysical side Roman Paganism seems to have been hardly so well equipped as Hinduism. Apart from the dreams of a few mystics, it had behind it no definite philosophical system, no compact theory of life and destiny, such as Hinduism possesses in its doctrines of the world-soul whence all things arise and have their being, of the illusiveness of sensory phenomena, and of the cycle of retributive and purifying transmigration through which the human soul attains ultimate release by absorption into the primal essence. These ideas are not the monopoly of the learned : they are shared in great measure by the man in the street. If you talk to a fairly intelligent Hindu peasant about the *paramātmā*, *karma*, *māyā*, *mukti* and so forth, you will find, as soon as he has got over his surprise at your interest in such matters, that the terms are familiar to him, and that he has formed a rough working theory of their bearing upon his own future. The religious life of the bulk of the

**Weaker than  
Hinduism in meta-  
physics and ethics.**

before the inroads of the barbarians. We may search in vain among the myriads of Hindu divinities for a Palladian Athena or a Capitoline Jupiter ; the germs of a national cult are entirely wanting ; there are no gods of cities or states ; there is no nucleus of religion round which patriotic enthusiasm might rally and gather force.

It has been shown above that no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between Hinduism and Animism. The one shades away insensibly into the other and the most obvious test—the employment of priests who claim to be Brahmans—is liable in practice to be defeated by the doubt whether these Brahmans themselves are anything more than animistic sooth-sayers writ large. Taking the adherents of the two cults together, they number close on 216 millions, and comprise nearly three-fourths (73·3 per cent.) of the population of India. Islam comes next with 62½ millions or 21 per cent. ; Buddhism counts nearly 9½ millions or 3 per cent. ; Christianity has a little under three millions or 1 per cent. During the ten years preceding the Census of 1901, the Muhammadans increased by 9 per cent. and the Christians by nearly 28 per cent. In the case of the other two religions, the facts are obscured by

#### Statistics of religion

uncertainty as to the figures. The general position, however, is clear. Hinduism is the dominant religion of India ; in all its developments it is intimately associated with caste, and the two sets of factors, the social and the religious, can hardly be considered apart. The two rival creeds, Christianity and Islam—for Buddhism may be left out of account—avowedly reject the principle of caste, and have been affected by its influence solely through their contact with Hinduism. So long as Hinduism shows no decline from its present strength, caste will preserve its ancient reign, and nothing short of a great accession of strength to either Islam or Christianity can materially modify the social and religious future of India. Are there any signs of a tendency in this direction ? Can the figures of the last Census be regarded as in any sense the forerunners of an Islamic or Christian revival which will threaten the citadel of Hinduism ? Or will Hinduism hold its own in the future as it has done through the long ages of the past ?

The statistics of the last Census show that during a decade of famine the Muhammadans in India increased by 9 per cent., while the population as a whole rose by only 3 per cent. No doubt these proportions were affected by the fact that the famines were most



a Hindu source, of a wealthy Kāyasth landholder of Eastern Bengal, who was suspected of holding unorthodox views, and consequently found difficulties in getting his daughter married. Indignant at what he deemed persecution, he openly embraced Islam, assumed a Muhammadan name, and testified to his zeal by sacrificing cows 'in the precincts of the very building where his father had worshipped the Hindu gods.' Muhammadan society gave him a cordial welcome, and his daughter married into a high-class family. His wife, however, refused to change her religion and went back to her own people.

(2). The growing desire on the part of the lower Hindu castes to improve their social position leads individuals among them to embrace a creed which seems to offer them a fair chance in life. Mālis, Kahārs, Goālās, Nāpits, Kāns, Beldārs and other castes of similar status furnish numerous illustrations of this tendency.

(3). The proverb 'Love laughs at caste' accounts for a large number of conversions. Hindus of all ranks of society succumb to the charms of good-looking Musalmāni girls, and Muhammadans show themselves equally susceptible to the attractions of Hindu maidens. Hindu widows seek a refuge from their dreary lot in marriage with Muhammadans, while Hindu men who have been caught out in liaisons with girls of lower caste—an affair with a pretty gipsy is one of the instances cited—and find themselves socially stranded, prefer the respectability of Islam to the mixed company of some dubious Vaishnava sect. In all such cases Islam gains and Hinduism loses, for caste rules are rigid and no individual can become a Hindu. These irregular attachments sometimes give rise to embarrassing situations. A Hindu gentleman of Eastern Bengal relates how a high-caste Hindu physician saw in the course of his practice a very handsome Muhammadan girl and fell so hopelessly in love that he wanted to marry her. Her father insisted that he must turn Muhammadan, but after he had done so refused to give him the girl. Meanwhile he had of course been cast off by his own people and had become a social derelict.

(4). Causes connected with taboos on food and drink and with various caste misdemeanours have also to be taken into account. Hindus in sickness or distress are tended by Muhammadans and take food and water from their hands; the caste excommunicates them and they join the ranks of a more merciful faith.

It is needless to observe that none of these causes, nor all of them taken together, exercise an influence wide or potent enough

occasions ; are refused admission even to the temples of their gods ; and can hope for no more helpful partner of their joys and sorrows than the unkempt and unhandy maiden of the *pārācheri*\* with her very primitive notions of comfort and cleanliness.

‘ But once a youth from among these people becomes Christian his whole horizon changes. He is as carefully educated as if he was a Brahman ; he is put in the way of learning a trade or obtaining an appointment as a clerk ; he is treated with kindness and even familiarity by missionaries who belong to the ruling race ; he takes an equal part with his elders and betters in the services of the church ; and in due time he can choose from among the neat-handed girls of the Mission a wife skilled in domestic matters and even endowed with some little learning. Now-a-days active persecution of converts to Christianity is rare. So those who hearken to its teaching have no martyr’s crown to wear, and sheltered, as they often are, in a compound round the missionary’s bungalow, it matters little to its adherents if their neighbours look askance upon them. The remarkable growth in the numbers of the Native Christians thus largely proceeds from the natural and laudable discontent with their lot which possesses the lower classes of the Hindus, and so well do the converts, as a class, use their opportunities that the community is earning for itself a constantly improving position in the public estimation.’

In the face of this testimony can any one say that Christian Missions have been a failure in India ? To me at any rate it seems beyond question that the Missions which have devoted themselves to the Animists and the Helots chose their field wisely and worked it well. The fruit, no doubt, has not yet been brought to perfection, but if due allowance is made for the inherited tendencies of the converts, and the conditions in which they live, those who are responsible for this branch of missionary effort in India have no reason to be ashamed of their labours. They have been guided by the spirit of the apostolic age ; they have achieved much and they may yet accomplish more. There are, however, other missions which have worked on more ambitious lines and have set before themselves the ideal of converting the higher castes among the Hindus, in the hope that Christianity would filter downwards through the masses in the

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\* The ghetto of the typical South Indian village where the Pariahs herd together in irregular clusters of squalid palm-leaf huts

in Christianity a refuge from the tyranny of caste has of late years been sensibly weakened by the modern tendency to relax those minor restrictions relating to food, drink and travel which weighed heavily upon the educated classes. Within certain wide limits an advanced Indian can now do pretty much what he pleases in respect of such matters, and the probability of his turning Christian in order to escape vexatious social penalties has thereby become appreciably more remote.

While admitting the validity of the reasons assigned by the Bishop for the failure of Christianity to attract the upper classes of India, I may perhaps be permitted to suggest that other and less obvious causes have contributed to the result. Caste, after all, is a fluid and variable institution which is ready enough to adapt itself to circumstances when called upon to surrender in sufficiently imperative terms. Had Christianity been presented in a form more congenial to the mystical Indian temperament, with the Logos as a humanised version of the *paramātma*, one can imagine that it might have stood a better chance of success. Caste certainly would not have permanently blocked its path, any more than it succeeded in arresting the progress of Islam. Why then has Hinduism, hampered as it is, at any rate to outward view, by an unedifying mythology, a grotesque Pantheon, a burdensome ritual, a corrupt priesthood, and above all by the taint of palpable idolatry, retained its sway over the higher minds to whom a simpler and purer faith might have been expected to offer irresistible attractions? The main reason seems to be that to the educated Hindu religion is largely a matter of the intellect. He demands from it not merely spiritual comfort but philosophical conviction. A religion which rests upon no metaphysical basis, and which in his view does not even attempt to solve the great problems of life, cannot expect to command his acceptance. With all its shortcomings of precept and practice, Hinduism at least has behind it a philosophy which, in spite or perhaps because of its indolent pessimism, satisfies the Eastern mind and has fascinated some of the leading intellects of the West. To despair with Goëthe and Schopenhauer is to despair in good company. In the domain of religion mere temperament counts for a good deal, and the Indian whose critical sense rejects as incredible the evidences of the Christian revelation finds no difficulty in accepting by intuition the Pantheistic dream which underlies his own philosophy. Nor does the strength of Hinduism lie only in its

ignorance,' and in pursuance of this precept they have already founded a number of educational institutions the most important of which is the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore.

The Arya movement has undoubtedly derived a great accession of force from its intimate association with the Khattris, whom Sir George Campbell described more than forty years ago as 'one of the most acute, energetic, and remarkable races in India,' and as being in the Punjab 'all that Maratha Brāhmans are in the Maratha country, besides engrossing the trade which the Maratha Brāhmans have not. They are not usually military in their character, but are quite capable of using the sword when necessary.' It is hardly an exaggeration to discover in the Khattris an epitome of the three twice-born castes of the traditional Hindu system. By founding the Sikh religion, and by continuing to furnish its priests, they have exercised within a sphere of some importance an influence elsewhere confined to the Brāhmans. Their record of administrative and military success as ministers to the Mughal Emperors, as governors of Multan, Peshawar and Badakhshan, and as generals in the Sikh army is

The Samaj and the Khattris. appealed to in support of their claim to be the modern representatives of the ancient Kshatriyas; while by their activity in trade and their prominence in the ranks of the legal profession they have more than absorbed the functions of the ancient Vaisyas. A movement of this type, promoted by such influential supporters, seems to be of high promise and may even contain the germ of a national religion. The Aryas start with a definite creed resting upon scriptures of great antiquity and high reputation; their teaching is of a bold and masculine type and is free from the limp eclecticism which has proved fatal to the Brahmo Samaj; they have had the courage to face the vital question of marriage reform; and finally, they recognise the necessity of proselytism and do not hesitate to say 'those who are not with us are against us.' These are elements of strength, and the movement seems likely to gather to itself many adherents among the educated classes. Whether it will spread beyond the relatively small circle of literates seems to depend upon the reception that it meets with from the Brāhmans who cater for the spiritual needs of the masses of the people. Seeing that the Aryas condemn offerings to idols, pilgrimages and bathing in sacred rivers, it seems doubtful whether the priests who live by promoting these modes of propitiating the gods will regard the new movement with favour. No signs of such a

heredity and the other a matter of accident, and that the idea of man being master of his fate is no better than a pleasing fiction conjured up by human fantasy to flatter human egotism. Nor is this the last refuge of Hinduism. If it appeals to the intellect by its metaphysical teaching, it also touches the emotions by the beatific vision which it offers to the heart and the imagination. Dr. Grierson may or may not be right in holding that the doctrine of *bhakti* or ecstatic devotion, which has played so large a part in the later developments of Hinduism, was borrowed by Chaitanya from Christian sources. To some minds the evidence in support of this view may appear rather conjectural. But whatever may have been its origin, the idea has now taken its place among the characteristic teachings of Hinduism ; it has been absorbed in the fullest sense of the word. And a religion which rests both on philosophy and on sentiment is likely to hold its ground until the Indian temperament itself undergoes some essential change.

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vitality throws an instructive light on the inner workings of the Indian mind. To endeavour to understand the people of India, to enter into their point of view, and realize how things strike them, is the first condition of successful administration. As the work of Government becomes more complex and touches the life of the people at a greater number of points, as new interests spring up and old interests assume novel forms, the stronger is the obligation to know as much as possible of the society which our rule is insensibly but steadily modifying. The study of the facts is therefore essential, and we must take the theories, whether Indian or European, along with them. The search for origins, like the quest of the Sangreal, possesses endless fascination, and if it does not yield any very tangible results, it at least has the merit of encouraging research.

Several theories of the origin of caste are to be found in the literature of the subject. The oldest and most famous is accepted as an article of faith by all orthodox Hindus, and its attraction extends, as each successive Census shows, through an ever-widening circle of aspirants to social distinction. It appears in its most

**The Indian theory** elaborate form in the tenth chapter of that curious jumble of magic, religion, law, custom, ritual, and metaphysics, which is commonly called the Institutes of Manu. Here we read how the *Anima Mundi*, the supreme soul which 'contains all created beings and is inconceivable,' produced by a thought a golden egg, in which 'he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of the whole world.' Then 'for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brāhmana, the Kshattriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet,' and allotted to each of these their distinctive duties. The Brāhman was enjoined to study, teach, sacrifice, and receive alms; the Kshattriya to protect the people and abstain from sensual pleasures; the Vaisya to tend cattle, to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land; while for the Sudra was prescribed the comprehensive avocation of meekly serving the other three groups. Starting from this basis, the standard Indian tradition proceeds to trace the evolution of the caste system from a series of complicated crosses, first between members of the four original groups and then between the descendants of these initial unions. The men of the three higher groups might marry women of any of the groups below them, and if the wife belonged to the group

A.D., there must have existed an elaborate and highly developed social system, including tribal or national groups like the Māgadha, Vaideha, Malla, Licchivi, Khasa, Drāvida, Sāka, Kirāta, and Chandāl; and functional groups such as the Ambastha, who were physicians, the Suta, who were concerned with horses and chariots, the Nishāda, and the Mārgavas, Dāsas, or Kaivartas who were fishermen, the Ayogava, carpenters, the Kārāvara and Dhigvansa, workers in leather, and the Vena, musicians and players on the drum.\* It is equally clear that the occupations of Brāhmans were as diverse as they are at the present day, and that their position in this respect was just as far removed from that assigned to them by the traditional theory. In the list of Brāhmans whom a pious house-holder should not entertain at a *śrāddha*† we find physicians; temple-priests; sellers of meat; shop-keepers; usurers; cow-herds; actors; singers; oilmen; keepers of gambling houses; sellers of spices; makers of bows and arrows; trainers of elephants, oxen, horses or camels; astrologers; bird-fanciers; fencing-masters; architects; breeders of sporting dogs; falconers; cultivators; shepherds; and even carriers of dead bodies. The conclusions suggested by the passages cited from Manu are confirmed by Dr. Richard Fick's instructive study‡ of the structure of society in Bihār and the eastern districts of the United Provinces at the time of Buddha. Dr. Fick's work is based mainly upon the Jātakas or 'birth-stories' of the southern Buddhists, and from these essentially popular sources, free from any suggestion of Brāhmanical influence, he succeeds in showing that, at the period depicted, the social organization in the part of India with which his authorities were familiar did not differ very materially from that which prevails at the present day. Then, as now, the traditional hierarchy of four castes had no distinct and determinate existence; still less had the so-called mixed castes supposed to be derived from them; while of the Sudras in particular no trace at all was to be found. Then, as now, Indian society was made up of a medley of diverse and heterogeneous groups, apparently not so strictly and uniformly endogamous as the castes of to-day, but containing within themselves the germs out of which the modern system has developed by natural and insensible

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\* *Laws of Manu*, G. Bühler, X, 22, 34, 36, 44.

† *Laws of Manu*, III, 151—166.

‡ *Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit*. Von Dr. Richard Fick, Kiel. 1897.

the part of the Arya Samāj to discover in the Rig Veda an anticipation of the discoveries of modern science, and to interpret the horse sacrifice in Sukta 162 as an allegorical exposition of the properties of heat or electricity.\*

The resemblance between the two schemes is striking enough to suggest that it can hardly be the result of a mere accidental coincidence, but that the Indian theory must have been modelled on the Iranian. The differences in the categories are trifling, and admit of being accounted for by the fact that India has, what Persia had not, a large aboriginal population differing from the Indo-Aryans in respect of religion, usages, and physical type, and more especially in the conspicuous attribute of colour. These people had somehow to be brought within the limits of the scheme; and this was done by the simple process of lumping them together in the servile class of Sudras, which is sharply distinguished from the twice-born groups and has a far lower status than is assigned to the artizans in the Iranian system. Thus the four *varnas*, or colours, of the Indian myth seem to occupy an intermediate position between the purely occupational classes of ancient Persia and Egypt and the rigidly defined castes of modern India. In the Persian system only the highest group of Athravans or priests was endogamous, while between the other three groups, as between all the groups of the Egyptian system (excluding the swineherds if we follow Herodotus), no restrictions on intermarriage appear to have been recognized. Moreover, as is implied by the distinction between the twice-born classes and the Sudras, and by the prominence given to the element of colour (*varna*), the Indian system rests upon a basis of racial antagonism of which there is no trace in Persia and Egypt. Yet in the stage of development portrayed in the law books the system has not hardened into the rigid mechanism of the present day. It is still more or less fluid; it admits of intermarriage under the limitations imposed by the rule of hypergamy; it represents caste in the making, not caste as it has since been made. This process of caste-making has indeed by no means come to an end. Fresh castes are constantly being formed, and wherever we can trace the stages of their evolution they seem to proceed on the lines followed in the traditional scheme. The first stage is for a number of families,

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\* R. Burn. *Census Report of the United Provinces*, 1901, p 91.



guilds based upon hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities; (3) the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries; (4) the exaltation of the Levitical blood by a special insistence upon the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation; (5) the preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to these the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic and burdensome from a material point of view; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India.'

M. Senart's criticism\* of this theory is directed to two points. He demurs, in the first place, to the share which he supposes it to assign to Brāhmanical influence, and challenges the supposition that a strict code of rules, exercising so absolute a dominion over the consciences of men, could be merely a modern invention, artificial in its character and self-regarding in its aims. Secondly, he takes exception to the disproportionate importance which he conceives Sir Denzil Ibbetson to attach to community of occupation, and points out that, if this were really the original binding principle of caste, the tendency towards incessant fission and dislocation would be much less marked: the force that in the beginning united the various scattered atoms would continue to hold them together to the end. Both criticisms appear to miss an essential feature in the scheme, the influence of the idea of kinship, which is certainly the oldest and probably the most enduring factor in the caste system, and which seems to have supplied the framework and the motive principle of the more modern restrictions based upon ceremonial usage and community of occupation.

Mr. Nesfield† is a theorist of quite a different type. He feels no doubts and is troubled by no misgivings. Inspired by the systematic philosophy of Comte, he maps out the whole confused region of Indian caste into a graduated series of groups and explains

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\* *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, p. 191.

† *Brief views of the caste system of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp. 3, 4, 75, 88, 129—132.

Then come the hunting Bahelias, the Mallāhs, and Dhimars (boatmen and fishermen), the pastoral Ahirs and Gadariyas, and the great mass of agriculturists, while above these Mr. Nesfield finds in the Chattri or Rājput the sole representative of the landlord and warrior caste. The artisan castes are subdivided with reference to the supposed priority of the evolution of their crafts. The basket-making Bānsphors, the weavers (Kori and Jolāhā), the potters (Kumhār), and the oilmen (Telī) fall within the more primitive group antecedent to metallurgy, while blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tailors, and confectioners are placed in the group coeval with the use of metals. Above them again come the trading and the serving castes among whom we find in rather odd collocation the scavenging Bhangi, the barber (Nāpit or Nāi), the bard and genealogist (Bhāt), and the Kāyasths, who are described as estate managers and writers. The Brāhmans and the religious orders complete the scheme. But the mere classification obviously offers no solution of the real problem. How did these groups, which occur in one form or another all over the world, become hardened into castes? Why is it that in India alone their members are absolutely forbidden to intermarry? Mr. Nesfield replies without hesitation that the whole series of matrimonial taboos which constitute the caste system are due to the initiative of the Brāhmans. According to him, they introduced for their own purposes, and in order to secure the dignity and privileges of their own caste, the rule that a Brāhman could only marry a Brāhman, and all the other classes, who up to that time had intermarried freely, followed their example 'partly in imitation and partly in self-defence.' The proposition recalls the short way that writers of the eighteenth century were apt to take with historical problems, and reminds one of Bolingbroke's easy assertion that the sacred literature of Egypt was invented by the priests. Detailed criticism would be out of place here: the main object of this chapter is to lay stress on precisely those factors of evolution which Mr. Nesfield ignores; but I may observe that a theory which includes in the same categories the Dom and the Telī, the Banjāra and the Khatri, the Bhangi and the Kāyasth must, in the race for acceptance, lose a good deal of ground at the start.

After examining the views propounded by Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Mr. Nesfield, and by myself in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, M. Senart passes on to for mulate his own theory of the origin of caste. In his view

M. Senart's theory.

of food prepared by a man of a lower caste, recalls the religious significance which the Aryans attached to the common meal of the household. Cooked at the sacred fire, it symbolized the unity of the family, its life in the present, its ties with the past. In Rome as in India, daily libations were offered to ancestors, and the funeral feasts of the Greeks and Romans (*περίδειπνον* and *silicernium*) correspond to the *srāddha* of Hindu usage which, in M. Senart's view, represents an ideal prolongation of the family meal. He seems even to find in the communal meals of the Persians, and in the Roman *charistia*, from which were excluded not only strangers but any members of the family whose conduct had been unworthy, the analogue of the communal feast at which a social offender in India is received back to caste. The exclusion from religious and social intercourse symbolized by the Roman interdict *aqua et igni* corresponds to the ancient Indian ritual for expulsion from caste, where a slave fills the offender's vessel with water and solemnly pours it out on the ground, and to the familiar formula *hukka pāni band karna*, in which the modern luxury of tobacco takes the place of the sacred fire of the Roman excommunication. Even the caste *pañchāyat* that wields these formidable sanctions has its parallel in the family councils which in Greece, Rome, and ancient Germany assisted at the exercise of the *patria potestas*, and in the chief of the *gens* who, like the *mātābar* of a caste, decided disputes between its members and gave decisions which were recognized by the State.

How was it that out of this common stock of usage there were developed institutions so antagonistic in their nature as the castes of India and the nations of Europe? To what causes is it due that among the Aryans of the West all the minor groups have been absorbed in the wider circle of national unity, while the Indian Aryans have nothing to show in the way of social organization but a bewildering multitude of castes and sub-castes? M. Senart suggests a cause, but makes no attempt to follow out or illustrate its workings. He says, "L'Inde ne s'est élevée ni à l'idée de l'État ni à l'idée de la Patrie. Au lieu de s'étendre, le cadre s'y resserre. Au sein des républiques antiques la notion des classes tend à se résoudre dans l'idée plus large de la cité ; dans l'Inde elle s'accuse, elle tend à se circoncrire dans les cloisons étroites de la caste. N'oublions pas qu'ici les immigrants se répandaient sur une aire immense ; les groupements trop vastes étaient condamnés à se disperser. Dans cette circonstance les inclinations particularistes puisèrent un supplément de force."

business: the guild recruited smart apprentices, just as the Baloch and Brāhui open their ranks to a fighting-man who has proved his worth. The common occupation was a real tie, a source of strength in the long struggle against nobles and kings, not a symbol of disunion and weakness like caste in India. If the guild had been a caste, bound by rigid rules as to food, marriage, and social intercourse, and split up into a dozen divisions which could not eat together or intermarry, the wandering apprentice who was bound to travel for a year from town to town to learn the secrets of his art, and who survives, a belated but romantic figure, even at the present day, could hardly have managed to exist; still less could he have discharged, like Quintin Matsys and a host of less famous craftsmen, the traditional duty of marrying his master's daughter. It seems, indeed, possible that the decadence and sterility of Indian art at the present day may be due in some measure to the trammels by which the caste system has checked its natural growth. A guild may expand and develop; it gives free play to artistic inspiration; and it was the union of the guilds that gave birth to the Free Cities of the Middle Age. A caste is an organism of a lower type; it grows by fission; and each step in its growth detracts from its power to advance or even to preserve the art which it professes to practise.

A curious illustration of the inadequacy of occupation alone to generate and maintain the instinct of caste as we see it at work in India is furnished by certain ordinances of the Theodosian Code. In the early part of the fifth century, when the Western Roman Empire was fast falling to pieces and the finances had become disorganized, an attempt was made, from purely fiscal motives, to determine the status and fix the obligations of all classes of officials. In his fascinating account of the constitution of society in those days Professor Dill tells us how 'an almost Oriental system of caste' had made all public functions hereditary, 'from the senator to the waterman on the Tiber or the sentinel at a frontier post.'\* The Navicularii who maintained vessels for transport by sea, the Pistores who provided bread for the people of Italy, the Pecuarii and Suarii who kept up the supply of butcher's meat, were all organized on a system as rigid and tyrannical as that which prevails in India at the present day. Each caste

it does in India. No one can say that the Theodosian Code had not given it a good start.

But, it will be asked, if the origin of caste is not to be found in the trade guild, may we not seek it in the more primitive institution of the tribe? Early society, as far back as we can trace it, is made up of a network of tribes, and in India it is easy to observe the process of the conversion of a tribe into a caste. The conjecture seems at first sight plausible; but a glance at the facts will show that the transformation in question is confined to those tribes which have been brought into contact with the regular caste system, and have adopted its characteristic usages from religious or social motives. The Manipuris, for example, were converted from Nāgas into Hindus only a century or two ago; and I am informed that the family archives of the Rāja contain an account of the process by which the change was effected. The Bhumij, again, were a tribe at a still more recent date, and retain plentiful traces of their origin. On the other hand, the races of Baluchistan, where Hindu influence is practically non-existent, show no inclination to follow the example of the Indian Muhammadans and organize themselves on the model of caste. The primitive tribe, in fact, wherever we find it, is not usually endogamous, and, so far from having any distaste for alien marriages, makes a regular business of capturing wives. This practice has given rise to one of the forms of infanticide and may well have been the cause of the extinction of whole tribes in the early struggle for existence. In short, when tribes are left to themselves, they exhibit no inborn tendency to crystallize into castes. In Europe, indeed, the movement has been all in the opposite direction. The tribes consolidated into nations; they did not sink into the political impotence of caste.

As I have said above, speculation concerning the origin of things is mostly vanity. Sooner or later in the course of our researches into the past we run up against the dead wall of the unknown, which is often also the unknowable. In the case of a complex phenomenon such as caste, to the formation of which a number of subtle tendencies must have contributed, all that we can hope to do is to disentangle one or two leading ideas and to show how their operation may have produced the state of things that actually exists. Following out this line of thought, it seems possible to distinguish two elements in the growth of caste sentiment : a basis of fact and a superstructure of

Castes not merely  
developed tribes

trade guild, may we not seek it in the more  
primitive institution of the tribe? Early society,

The genesis of caste:  
the basis of fact.

from both Europeans and natives, and holding a position far superior to that of the Eurasians in India. Illustrations of the same process may be observed in the Himālayas, where, if anywhere in India, the practices recorded with exaggerated precision in the Indian law books still survive. The Dogras of the Kāngra Hills and the Khas of Nepal are believed to be the offspring of alliances between conquering Rājputs and women of more or less Mongoloid descent. In the case of Nepal, Hodgson has described at length the conditions of these unions, which correspond in principle with those of the traditional system of Manu. Working from this analogy it is not difficult to construct the rough outlines of the process which must have taken place when the second wave of Indo-Aryans first made their way into India through Gilgit and Chitral. At starting they formed a homogeneous community, scantily supplied with women, which speedily outgrew its original habitat. A company of the more adventurous spirits set out to conquer for themselves new domains among the neighbouring Dravidians. They went forth as fighting men, taking with them few women or none at all. They subdued the inferior race, established themselves as conquerors, and captured women according to their needs. Then they found themselves cut off from their original stock, partly by the distance and partly by the alliances they had contracted. By marrying the captured women they had, to some extent, modified their original type; but a certain pride of blood remained to them, and when they had bred females enough to serve their purposes and to establish a distinct *jus connubii*, they closed their ranks to all further intermixture of blood. When they did this, they became a caste like the castes of the present day. As their numbers grew, their cadets again sallied forth in the same way, and became the founders of the Rājput and pseudo-Rājput houses all over India. In each case complete amalgamation with the inferior race was averted by the fact that the invaders only took women and did not give them. They behaved, in fact, towards the Dravidians whom they conquered in exactly the same way as some planters in America behaved to the African slaves whom they imported. This is a rough statement of what may be taken to be the ultimate basis of caste, a basis of fact common to India and to certain stages of society all over the world. The principle upon which the system rests is the sense of distinctions of race indicated by differences of colour: a sense which, while too weak to preclude the men of the dominant race

the philosophic doctrine of transmigration and *karma*. Every Hindu believes that his spiritual status at any given time is determined by the sum total of his past lives: he is born to an immutable *karma*, what is more natural than that he should be born into an equally immutable caste?

**Summary.**

The ethnological conclusions which the foregoing chapters seek to establish may now be summed up. They are these:—

(1) There are seven main physical types in India, of which the Dravidian alone is, or may be, indigenous. The Indo-Aryan, the Mongoloid, and the Turko-Iranian types are in the main of foreign origin. The Aryo-Dravidian, the Mongolo-Dravidian, and the Scytho-Dravidian are composite types formed by crossing with the Dravidians.

(2) The dominant influence in the formation of these types was the physical seclusion of India, involving the consequence that the various invaders brought few women with them and took the women of the country to wife.

(3) To this rule the first wave of Indo-Aryans formed the sole exception, for the reasons given on pages 48—53.

(4) The social grouping of the Indian people comprises both tribes and castes. We may distinguish three types of tribe and seven types of caste.

(5) Both tribes and castes are sub-divided into endogamous, exogamous, and hypergamous groups.

(6) Of the exogamous groups a large number are totemistic. It is suggested that both totemism and exogamy are traceable to the general law of natural selection.

(7) Castes can be classified only on the basis of social precedence, but no scheme of classification can be framed for the whole of India.

(8) The Indian theory of caste was perhaps derived from Persia. It has no foundation in fact, but is universally accepted in India.

(9) The origin of caste is from the nature of the case an insoluble problem. We can only frame more or less plausible conjectures, derived from the analogy of observed facts. The particular conjecture now put forward is based—firstly, upon the correspondence that can be traced between certain caste gradations and certain variations of physical type; secondly, on the development of mixed races from stocks of different colour; and thirdly, on the influence of fiction.

the Presidency towns, who know none of the vernacular languages, and who derive their impressions from the small body of Anglicised Indians whom Sir Henry Cotton describes, with rather needless acidity, in one place as 'a disorganised class within the community,' and in another as 'an artificial and exotic product.'\*

Let it be admitted, however, that there is some excuse for those who, in their just and natural admiration for the educated Indian, leave out of view the people of India and the governing principle of Indian society—caste. Anyone who has the curiosity to glance at the second chapter of this book will see that from the sixteenth century onwards almost all observers have been struck by the prohibitions on food and drink, and the rules about personal contact which caste entails, and have hardly noticed its restrictions upon marriage. Both sets of rules are, of course, inherent in the system. But they do not stand upon the same footing, and the penalties attached to their violation differ widely. A Founded on miscon-  
ceptions of fact. marriage, or even a *liaison*, with a member of another caste *ipso facto* involves final and irremediable excommunication. A slip in the matter of food can within limits be expiated by penance. Moreover, the rules about diet and contact with other castes rest upon a metaphysical theory of ceremonial pollution which admits of many exceptions. Ever since the time of Manu it has been recognized that the devout traveller, when in danger of starvation, must pocket his caste scruples and satisfy his hunger as best he can. In modern times, and especially since the introduction of railways, this comfortable doctrine has been developed and elaborated by Brāhmanical casuistry. It has long been held, for example, that sweetmeats, a generic and elastic term which includes all the promiscuous messes sold on the railway platforms, may be taken from almost anybody. Nice enquiries about the caste of itinerant vendors of sweet-stuff cannot be prosecuted from the window of a third-class carriage during a short stoppage, and a modern proverb sums up the position in the practical query—'You have eaten the food he gave you, why ask about his caste?' On the same principle the wise man finds it convenient to forget that ice was once water, that soda water, before it found its way into a cunningly contrived bottle, owned the same humble origin and did not necessarily come straight from the Ganges; that certain essences and extracts used for medical purposes

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\* *New India*, p 260.



Quite apart, moreover, from caste developments many things are happening in the India of to-day which tend to bewilder an observer recently arrived from Europe, and unable to command a wider outlook than is afforded by his own immediate surroundings. It is hardly possible to imagine a more startling series of contrasts than is disclosed directly one penetrates below the mere surface of Indian society. One sees there a sort of disordered kaleidoscope in which the oldest and the newest ideas of the human spirit whirl round together in the most bewildering fashion. Science and religion, expediency and prescription, contract and status, the Western enthusiasm of humanity, the Eastern carelessness of human life—all these mighty opposites are mixed and jumbled up together in a fantastic medley out of which a benevolent despotism, controlled in the last resort by a distant but not unwise democracy, is constantly attempting to evolve an order of things which, while satisfying the comparatively simple wants of oriental life, shall not fall too conspicuously short of European ideals of progress and prosperity. An illustration or two will show at a glance how great a gulf is fixed between the educated minority and the great body of the Indian people, and what savage impulses throb behind the deceptive veil of apparent culture. Not very long ago, while a talented Bengali professor, well known to the scientific world of London, was lecturing to crowded audiences on the transcendental properties of metals under the influence of electricity, widows were being burnt alive in Bihar, incidents curiously suggestive of human sacrifice were occurring in Orissa, and in Calcutta, the *soi-disant* centre of light and leading, a large section of the population, shrewd enough in the business of daily life, were deterred from going out after dark by their dread of a mysterious personage who was believed to be hunting for heads to cement the foundations of the Victoria Memorial Hall. In the face of such vigorous survivals of ideas far more primitive than caste itself, we may be excused for receiving with some scepticism the argument that because a few archaic taboos on food, drink, and personal contact have been relaxed, therefore the entire fabric of caste, undermined by European science, must be tottering to its fall.

Sir Henry Cotton takes a more just view of the general situation when he writes :—

‘The country recoils from such a social revolution as our Western civilisation has thrust upon it. It still needs the hierarchical leadership of caste. The tendency to reduce the

of India just 707,000, or less than one per cent. of the male adult population. Even if the whole of this company of *litterati*, scattered

Whose views are confirmed by statistics and by the best Indian opinion

over all the provinces and states of India, were banded together to beleaguer the citadel of caste, many generations must pass before their attack could effect a practicable breach. The walls of

immemorial usage will not crumble at the first blast of the trumpet of reform. But how many even of the advanced members of the literate class seriously contemplate the disruption of the social regime under which they live? So far as can be gathered from the various sources of information available, the number of such iconoclasts is extremely small, while their ranks are mainly recruited from among those who, for one reason or another, have become alienated from their own people and have lost touch with Indian society. Nor does English education of itself, at any rate in its present stage of development, necessarily incline an Indian patriot to enter upon the uncongenial task of demolishing indigenous institutions and reconstructing them on a foreign model. On the contrary, with the growth of national or provincial self-consciousness which has manifested itself within the last few years, the opposite tendency may be observed, and Indian religion, philosophy, usage, and family life are extolled as intrinsically superior to anything that the Western world has succeeded in producing.

If then the regime of caste, with all that it implies, is likely to survive for an indefinite period in India, what influence may it be expected to have over the growth of the modern idea of an Indian nationality? At first sight the two things appear to be antagonistic and incompatible: the principle of separation conflicts with the principle of consolidation. This indeed seems to be the deliberate opinion of two competent Indian critics. The disordered state of things arising from particularism in India was vividly described a few months ago by an advanced Bengali politician in a letter to a Calcutta newspaper: 'We must not forget that India is not yet a nation; we must not forget that it is a congeries of races, which are not always friendly to each other: we must not forget the ancient hate, the ancient prejudice, the ancient clashing of castes and creeds which still hold India under their vice-like grip.'\* A serious student of social problems in India, who stands aloof from politics,

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\* Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu of the Bengal Legislative Council.—*Statesman*, 28th May 1907.

Sivaji sought to revive and which the intriguing spirit of the Brahman Peshwas effectually shattered—was rooted in caste. At the head of it stands the King, the one absolute and responsible ruler, uniting in his own person all legislative, judicial, and executive functions, but assisted in their exercise by a purely advisory Council consisting of members appointed by himself in certain proportions

from among the leading castes. Subject to the orders of the King, whose duty it is to enforce the rules of the various castes, 'each of the functions required in a civilised community is discharged by a separate section of the people. The worship of the gods is the business of one caste, banking of another, shoe-making of another, and so on. By analogy the business of government is also assigned to one particular section, instead of being the common business of all as it is usually held to be in Europe. In India, this arrangement reacted upon the body politic in two ways. Firstly, the exclusion of most of the castes from politics left little room for the growth of feelings of common interest and public spirit; secondly, the efficiency of the governing section became of immense importance. Only if this section were strong could it perform its function of keeping each caste to its proper duties, and thereby combine the parts into an organic whole; while if it were weak, society would fall apart into disconnected atoms. Anarchy is the peculiar peril of a society that is organized on the basis of caste, and the dread of anarchy leads to monarchy as the strongest defence against it. Indian thinkers were well aware of the weakness of divided counsels, holding that one person should be appointed to one task, and not two or three. "It is always seen that several persons, if set to one task, disagree with one another."\*

Under the rule of the model King depicted in the Mahābhārata, of whom it is written that 'he should always have the rod of chastisement uplifted in his hands,' the forces of caste were kept under proper control, and the system was prevented from degenerating into an organized tyranny. Monarchy seems to have guarded against this danger; would a democracy of the modern type be able

to do the same? In considering how such a democracy would work in India, it must not be forgotten that caste would provide the party in power, the party

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\* *Mahābhārata* VII., p. 258

favourable or adverse to the growth of a consciousness of common nationality among the people of India.

In the first place, let us endeavour to make clear what is meant by *nationality*. This abstract term, originally denoting the fact of belonging to a particular nation (as we speak of the 'nationality' of a ship), has within the last fifty years acquired a concrete meaning implied rather than expressed in such phrases as 'oppressed nationalities.' The standard literature of the subject approaches the question from the European standpoint, and the development of the idea of nationality in Asia has as yet received no exhaustive treatment. As the word is ordinarily used, it seems to imply that the persons composing a nationality are keenly conscious, and may even be passionately convinced, that they are closely bound together by the tie of common interests and ideals, that in a special and intimate way they belong to one another, and that the moral

The factors of nationality.

force and enthusiasm by which their sentiment of unity is inspired render it independent of the government or governments under which they may happen to live. This feeling of self-consciousness gives to a body of men a sort of personality, so that they become 'a moral unity with a common thought.' The idea is not necessarily associated with democratic tendencies; it may equally arise from loyalty to a dynasty. Nor is it invariably directed towards consolidation; it can be seen at work as a disintegrating force which fastens upon a particular racial, linguistic or geographical group and seeks to detach it from the political system of which it forms part. When a homogeneous multitude of men, animated by this complex sentiment, are united under a single government expressing their common aspirations and carried on by themselves, they are no longer described as a nationality, but are recognized as a nation. Thus we speak of the Polish, Finnish and Bohemian nationalities, and of the Greek, German, and Italian nations. The factors which go to the making of a national consciousness are of somewhat indefinite character and have been variously described. The most precise enumeration of them is perhaps that given by Sidgwick in *The Elements of Politics*. He notices the following:—The belief in a common origin; the possession of a common language and literature; the pride that is felt in common historic traditions, in the memories of a common political history, and of common struggles against foreign foes; community of religion; community of social customs. The last

language is concerned, is even more complex and chaotic than it is in the Austrian dominions, where the Parliamentary oath may have to be administered in eight different languages. It is perhaps conceivable that one of the many dialects of Hindustani might in course of time become established as the vernacular of the whole of Northern India, though the linguistic jealousies of Hindus and Muhammadans as to the script and vocabulary of the language will not readily be appeased. But to suppose that the Dravidians of Southern India will ever abandon Tamil and Telugu in favour of some form of Indo-Aryan speech, or that the peasantry of Bengal and Orissa, Mahārāshtra and Gujarāt will change their characteristic languages and alphabets, requires almost as large an effort of the imagination as the dream that English itself may in the remote future become the *lingua franca* of the three hundred millions who inhabit the Indian Empire. Speculations of this kind pay but a sorry tribute to the vitality of the Indian vernaculars and the attractions of the valuable literature which they possess—a literature which appeals to the most intimate feelings of the people and is closely bound up with their religious beliefs and their social obligations. The day is far distant when the Rāmāyana of Tulsi Dās will lose its hold over the peasantry of Upper India ; and when the hymns of Tukārām will cease to be household words in the Marāṭha country. Nor do the classical languages of India supply a bond of union which may form the basis of a common nationality. The tendencies of Sanskrit writings are hierarchical rather than national, while their contemplative and metaphysical tendencies are absolutely at variance with the actively militant spirit of the Arabic and Persian classics on which Indian Muhammadans are brought up. It is difficult to imagine any form of symbolical interpretation or intellectual compromise by which the quietist philosophy characteristic of the Hindu scriptures could be reconciled with the fiery dogmatism of the Koran, or to conceive how two races looking back to such widely different literatures could be brought to regard them as the common heritage of one united nationality. We can only conclude therefore that in India, so far as can be at present foreseen, the development of the national idea is not likely to derive much support from popular speech or learned tradition.

It is possible indeed—distant as the prospect now appears—that English may after all stand the best chance of becoming the national language of India. Its adoption would at any rate avoid the

In the series of lectures published under the title '*The Expansion of England*' the late Sir John Seeley speaks of religion as 'the strongest and most important of the elements which go to constitute nationality', and throws out the idea that Hinduism may prove to be the germ from which that sentiment may be developed in India. He then draws attention to the failure of the Hindus to organize a national resistance to the advance of the Muhammadan invaders, and of the Marātha confederacy, which he describes as 'an organization of plunder,' to inspire Hinduism with the spirit of active patriotism. There he leaves the subject, after a passing glance at the 'facile comprehensiveness of Hinduism' which in his

Religion. judgment 'has enfeebled it as a uniting principle' and rendered it incapable of generating true national feeling. It may be admitted that the flame of patriotic enthusiasm will not readily arise from the cold grey ashes of philosophic compromise, and that before Hinduism can inspire an active sentiment of nationality, it will have to undergo a good deal of stiffening and consolidation. The Arya Samaj seems to be striking out a path which may lead in this direction, but the tangled jungle of Hinduism bristles with obstacles, and the way is long. Meanwhile, it is curious to observe that Sir John Seeley's forecast leaves Islam entirely out of account, though in an earlier lecture he dwells on the fact that the population of India is 'divided between Brahmanism and Muhammadanism.' His general proposition as to the influence of religion upon nationality seems, moreover, to lose sight of the historical fact that while community of religion strengthens and consolidates national sentiment, religious differences create distinct types within a nation and tend to perpetuate separate and antagonistic interests. This difficulty has not escaped the observation of Sir Henry Cotton, who rightly points out that 'it is impossible to be blind to the general character of the relations between Hindus and Muhammadans; to the jealousy which exists and manifests itself so frequently, even under British rule, in local outbursts of popular fanaticism; to the kine-killing riots and to the religious friction which occasionally accompanies the celebration of the Ram Lila or the Bakr Id or the Muharram.\*' Mr. Theodore Morison† approaches the question from a different point of view. Writing of the educated Muhammadans, he says:—'The possibility of fusion with

\* *New India*, p 228.

† *Quarterly Review*, April 1906.

heard of? Everywhere in history we see the same contest going forward between the earlier, the more barbarous instinct of separation, and the modern civilising tendency towards unity, but we can point to no instance where the former principle the principle of disunion and isolation, has succeeded in producing anything resembling a nation. History, it may be said, abounds in surprises, but I do not believe that what has happened nowhere else is likely to happen in India in the present generation.'

The view there stated is borne out by Rivier's\* observation.

'On ne peut guère douter que ce ne soit en grande partie aux mélanges infinis qui, durant des siècles, ont pétri et trituré les Européens d'aujourd'hui, qu'est due la suprématie mondiale actuelle de notre continent.'

So long as a regime of caste persists, it is difficult to see how the sentiment of unity and solidarity can penetrate and inspire all classes of the community, from the highest to the lowest, in the manner that it has done in Japan where, if true caste ever existed, restrictions on intermarriage have long ago disappeared. It may be said on the other hand that the caste system itself, with its singularly perfect communal organization, is a machinery admirably fitted for the diffusion of new ideas; that castes may in course of time group themselves into classes representing the different strata of society; and that India may thus attain, by the agency of these indigenous corporations, the results which have been arrived at elsewhere through the fusion of individual types. The problem is a novel one, but so are the conditions which give rise to it, and the ferment of new ideas acting upon ancient institutions may bring about a solution the nature of which cannot now be foreseen.

We have seen that the factors which in other countries are regarded as essential to the growth of national sentiment either do not exist at all in India, or tend to produce separation rather than cohesion. We have also observed that the influence of caste seems at first sight to favour particularist rather than nationalist tendencies. Are we then to conclude that the conception of an Indian nationality rests upon no substantial or even intelligible basis, and may be brushed aside as a figment of the prolific oriental imagination stimulated by its recent contact with Western thought? Such a conclusion would, I think, be premature. Indian national sentiment is, indeed, at present in rather a fluid condition, but its existence within a certain section of the community can hardly be denied, and the causes which have led to its development are plainly discernible. They may be said to be two in number :—

**The basis of Indian nationality.**

regarded as essential to the growth of national sentiment either do not exist at all in India, or

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\* Rivier : *Principes du Droit des Gens*

B. C. 38 when Julius Cæsar, yielding to the entreaties of the Gauls for aid against the Helvetii, entered upon the shortest of Roman wars,\* he found the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees in the possession of about eighty independent political communities (*Civitates*). These were united by no federal tie; they recognised no superior authority; they had not risen to the idea of a common country or a national life; and their local patriotism was bounded by their own little territories, and inspired by hatred of their immediate neighbours. Most of them were in form aristocratic republics governed by Senates in which the educated classes had a decided preponderance. But they were torn by internal factions ever ready to call in a foreign ally, and were in constant danger of being overthrown by any ambitious chief who was rich enough to gather round himself a small army of rudely equipped retainers. Independent Gaul was a chaos of disorderly local jealousies aggravated by perpetual war. When the Romans appeared on the scene, some of the States hastened to make terms; others offered a fitful and ineffectual resistance under leaders whose real object was to set up tyrannies of their own. With an army consisting mainly of Gallic levies, drilled and disciplined on the Roman system and stiffened by a few Italian legions, Cæsar subdued the country in five campaigns, and substituted a single Roman supremacy for a confused medley of local supremacies. On the establishment of the *pax Romana* an era of civilization commenced which resulted in the development of political and religious unity.

The influence of language was the chief factor in the change. From the first century onwards all the inscriptions that have been discovered, whether dedications to the gods, family epitaphs, or municipal decrees are without exception in Latin. Among the common people the ancient Celtic dialect seems to have survived down to the middle of the third century and then to have died out so completely that in the fifth century, when Gaul was converted to Christianity by Latin speaking missionaries, no trace of the original language remained.† As Coulanges observes, when two peoples are in contact, it is not always the less numerous that gives up its language; it is rather the one that has the most need of the other.

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\* Si cuncta bella recenseas nullum breviorē spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum. Tac. Ann XI 24.

† Here I follow Coulanges, *La Gaule Romaine*. Mommsen in *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* takes a different view of the scanty evidence available.



visited it on the family at large. Thus the rights of the dead came to be enforced by the living, and formed the basis of a domestic despotism of the most searching kind. Even the quality of a smile was defined by inviolable convention, and to smile at a superior so broadly as to show the back teeth was reckoned as a mortal offence.

The minute regulations promulgated in 681 A. D. by the Emperor Temmu, and expanded, a thousand years later, by the great Shogun Iyéyasu, afford many illustrations of the coercion employed. 'Every member of a *Kumi*,'\* says one of these, 'must carefully watch the conduct of his fellow members. If any one violates these regulations without due excuse, he is to be punished; and his *Kumi* will also be held responsible.' Behind the *Kumi* was the clan, then came the community, then the tribe—a hierarchy of groups, ruled by the 'Heavenly Sovereign,' the divinely incarnate Mikado, and all working together to suppress independent personality and to produce a uniform type of character for the service of the nation. The ordinances cover every incident of life from marriage to the material or cut of a dress, or the value of a birthday present to a child. They lay infinite stress on obedience to parents and superiors, respect for elders, faithful service to masters, and friendly feelings towards all members of the community. Intrigue, party spirit, the formation of cliques, competition for leadership, appeals to the passions of the ignorant—in short, all forms of political selfishness are condemned in scathing terms. The patriot must put aside personal vanity and may not play for his own hand. Breaches of the rules were punished by social ostracism, by flogging, by torture, and in the last resort by banishment for life or for a term of years. In old Japan the banished man was dead to human society. Even the outcast classes would not receive him; without permission he could not become a Buddhist monk; and the last resource of selling himself as a slave was withdrawn from him by the later Shoguns. The religion of loyalty could make no terms with the rebel or the renegade. It demanded absolute submission as the first condition of national unity.

The centuries of coercion which the Japanese passed through produced in them a superb heredity, moulded by discipline and instinct with loyalty. When the new era opened and the Mikado resumed his temporal power, he found ready to his hand a nation

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\* A *Kumi* was a group of five or more households under a *Kumi-gashira* or group-chief who was responsible for the conduct of the *Kumi* and of each of its members

How is this character to be inspired and transfused by that consciousness of common interests and ideals which is the predominant feature of the sentiment of nationality? The question admits of being answered either on idealist or on evolutionary lines—in the light of Indian theory or of European or Japanese experience. It may be said on the one hand that the idea of nationality is in itself nothing more than an impalpable mental attitude, a subjective conviction which may subsist independently of any objective reality, a fine flower of sentiment, springing from an unknown germ and nourished on Maya or illusion. But once planted on Indian soil it may spread far and wide as its seeds are blown hither and thither by the breath of popular imagination. We have seen how the legend of the four original castes, evolved in the active brain of some systematising pandit, has filtered downwards, has taken hold of the mind of the people, and has become almost an article of faith with the general body of Hindus. No one cares to enquire whether it rests on any basis of fact, yet it holds its ground, it gains constantly wider currency, and it undoubtedly does in a way influence practice in matters of social usage. It is conceivable that the idea of nationality may run a similar course, that it may possess the mind of the upper classes and may be diffused thence through wider circles until it reaches the rank and file of the Indian people. The process will take time, and even when it is completed, the result will be wanting in substance and vitality. If on the other hand we look to the history of Europe, and more especially to the history of Japan, we shall see that wherever genuine nationalities have arisen, they have been the product of character and circumstances—common character and common experience acting and reacting on each other through a long period of time. There is no doubt that the common character exists in India, if only in the rather shadowy and undeveloped form in which Mr. Yusuf Ali depicts it. It has still to undergo the common experience necessary to mould it into national character. This apprenticeship, if it is to be of any real effect, must be based upon facts, not upon fancies, and must extend to the masses of the people. A mere top-dressing of idealism will not make a nationality. How then are the people to be reached? Japan supplies the answer—by the development of indigenous beliefs and institutions. The vast majority of the people of India are as yet untouched by the idea of nationality. This cannot be impressed upon them through their own vernaculars, the influence of which would make for separatism

# APPENDICES.

to be crossed. (Post of danger.) Twelve Brahmans have the strength of a goat. A Brahman's wife will speak you fair. Why do you look like a Brahman to whom a daughter has been born? Give a Brahman's daughter money, and she will say the Muhammadan creed. (Will stick at nothing.) A Brahman has no sense; he will sell his cow buffalo (which gives milk) and buy a mare (which he cannot ride). A Brahman out of work will worship his *Patla* (the stool on which he keeps his sacrificial implements). Client sorry, Brahman merry. (He will be paid to propitiate the powers that bring the misfortune.) 'Brahman, why don't you marry?' 'Thanks, my village perquisites satisfy me' (Droits de seigneur?). Is that stump of stalk for me, and the cocoanut for the Nambutri Brahman? (The Nambutris in Malabar get the pick of the Nayar girls) I was just combing my beard when he brought me here and called me a Brahman. (An Assam proverb, apparently alluding to the manufacture of Brahmans from Bengali Muhammadans) He posed as a Brahman, but his name was Piroz Khan. The Ahir's (herdsman's) belly is deep; but the Brahman's is a bottomless pit. The Brahmans' bellies are full; they lie about like gorged buffaloes. A Brahman has faith only after a meal. A Brahman risks everything for a dinner. A scanty loin-cloth and an empty stomach; by these you may know the Brahman. Rice on his plate and his sacred thread in his hand. When the Brahman's stomach is over-full a dish of curds sets it aching. Life is dear to us Brahmans; we have eaten our fill; give us money to take us home. Other people's flour and butter, what do they cost the Brahman? The Brahman gets cakes to eat; the children of the house may lick the mill-stone. The pony grows fat in Asar (June—July, when it is too hot to ride), the Brahman in Bhadra (July—August, when ancestors are worshipped and Brahmans fed). The Brahman wanted both Hindu sweets and Muhammadan loaves, and got neither. You will repent, Brahman, and eat the same pulse after all. A hungry Brahman is like a tiger. Vishnu gets the empty litany; the Brahman takes the sacred food. (The offerings to Hindu idols are eaten by the priests.) 'Brahman, Brahman, here is uncooked food for your dinner'. 'That will do to take home, but first give me a dinner here'. After dinner a Brahman rubs his belly and a Jogi (ascetic) his head. The vegetables are rotten, give them to the Brahman. A degraded Brahman, give him a dead cow. The Brahman wore flowers and the gardens were stripped bare. A Brahman's cow eats little, but gives much milk. Oh God, let me not be born a Brahman, who is always begging and is never satisfied. A Brahman will beg with a *lakh* (Rs 1,00,000) in his pocket. A one-eyed cow for the Brahman (Give him what is useless). A black cow for the Brahman (Give him of your best, as the scriptures enjoin). Vultures and Brahmans spy out corpses. What is written in the Brahman's book (the duty of alms-giving) is tied up in his wife's shawl. The Brahman asks, the Baniya pays. The Brahman's son lives by begging. To a clerk a bribe, to a Brahman a gift. A cat that will not lap milk, and a Brahman who refuses a bribe. A Brahman's hand and an elephant's trunk are never at rest. A Brahman will wriggle and twist till he has done you of both interest and principal. Give the Brahman a corner of your verandah, he will soon have the whole house. Is the ridge-pole of the Brahman's house of bamboo? (Proverb of the improbable.) The trader has lost 1 per cent of the profits. (Baniyas in West Bengal give 10 per cent of their profits to give to Brahmans, and his wife may die, but the Brahman must have a son of the house.)

and the Gokel (clans of Rajputs) are fierce as steel. When asleep a Rajput, when awake a fool. Rajputs live on dried-up crusts ; they have to grind corn and when they beg for butter-milk they hide the cup. The Rajput is your friend only so long as it pays him. The marriages of Rajputs are full of pomp and splendour, but meals are to be had only from heaven.

### MEO.

(CULTIVATOR AND FREEBOOTER.)

When a Meo gives his daughter in marriage he gets from the bridegroom a mortar full of silver (Referring to the high brideprice paid by the Meos) The Meo's son will nurse his revenge for twelve years.

### BAIDYA.

(PHYSICIAN.)

Let no man fix his abode where there is no wealth, no divine teacher, no magistrate, no river, and no physician. Sect marks on his forehead, and 'Govind, Govind' on his lips, he pretends to be a physician. He cannot even find the pulse, yet he doctors every one ; what is it to the Baidya if his helpless patient dies ? The disease has eaten the Bej's (quack-doctor's) nose. Rising and falling is the Baidya's lot, provided the original stock remains sound. (The allusion is to the complicated rules of inter-marriage among the Baidyas of Bengal, under which the social status of a family is determined by the marriages of the daughters

### KĀYASTH.

(CLERK)

A Kāyasth is a man of figures (A theorist). Trust not a Kāyasth, a crow, or a snake without a tail. A young Kāyasth is as cunning as an old gipsy. Who so thinks he can jockey a Kāyasth is a great fool. The pen is the Kāyasth's weapon. A Kāyasth's son should be either learned or dead : an ignorant Kāyasth is as an oil-presser's bullock. The youngest among Kāyasths. (The fag of the family.) The son of a Kāyasth lives by the point of his pen. In a Kāyasth's house even the cat learns two letters and a half. The strings of a sieve, a bit without a bridle, and a Kāyasth servant are three useless things. Half a loaf is enough ; I am a Kāyasth, not a beast. Drinking comes to a Kāyasth with his mother's milk. Beware of the Kāyasth who wears a gold necklace. (The suggestion is that a Kāyasth money-lender is a merciless creditor) They will die if you touch them, but still they crawl and bite—where have these two creatures, bugs and Kāyasths, come from ? A Kāyasth who can pay cash is the devil ; he is an angel when deep in debt. Wherever three Kāyasths are gathered together a thunderbolt is sure to fall. When honest men fall out the Kāyasth gets his chance. Kāyasths, crows, and *roras* (loose ponies) are much of a muchness. Where there are no tigers the Kāyasth will become a shikari. The Kāyasth was eleven months in his mother's womb, yet he did not bite her : why ? he had no teeth.

### JĀT.

(PUNJAB CULTIVATOR.)

No kindness in a Jāt, no weevil in a stone. A Jāt is your friend as long as you have a stick in your hand. Bind up a wound, tie up a Jāt. To be civil to a Jāt is

A Kunbi is as crooked as a sickle, but you can beat him straight. The Kunbi is so obstinate that he plants thorns across the path. The Kunbi went cowherding and earned an earthen pot. A Kunbi does not know an upright from a cross. The master sits at home and the field is full of thorns. A Konkani ghost pounds rice. (A gibe at the cowardice of the Kunbi of the Konkani, the rice-growing country between the western Ghāts and the sea.) The Kunbi's son has nothing but a loin-cloth, but is great at giving alms. A Kunbi's bounty—you must beat him first.

### ARAIN.

(MARKET GARDENER.)

A cow is a good beast, and an Arain is a good cultivator. If you trust in God, put no trust in an Arain. Kill the Arain and the Chandar bird; the one will slander you, the other will eat your grapes.

### GIRTH.

(PUNJAB CULTIVATOR.)

When the rice is bending with its own weight the Girth looks round and swaggers. You cannot make a saint of a Girth or teach a buffalo modesty. You cannot make a widow of a Girthni or change a bull-buffalo into a barren cow. (Girths allow widows to marry, and the women are credited with making free use of the privilege.)

### REDDI.

(MADRAS CULTIVATOR.)

The Reddi fed his dog like a horse and barked himself. The Reddi who had never been on a horse sat with his face to the tail. When the clumsy Reddi got into a palankin it swung from side to side. The envious Reddi ruined the village while he lived and was a curse to it when he died.

### AHOM AND BHUIYA.

(ASSAM LANDHOLDERS.)

For the Ahom the *chalang*, for the Hindu the *bei*; I am in your hands, do with me what you will. (The *chalang* is the Ahom form of marriage; *bei* the Hindu form. The proverb purports to express the feelings of a newly-married bride.)

Be it torn, be it crumpled, it is still a silk scarf; be he young, be he old, he is still a Bhuiya's son. (Social position of landholders.)

### VELLALA.

(MADRAS CULTIVATOR.)

The agriculture of the Vellala of to-day is no agriculture. The Vellala was ruined by adornment, the harlot by finery.

### BANIYA.

(TRADER AND MONEY-LENDER.)

A Baniya's heart is no bigger than a coriander seed. A friendly Baniya is a courtesan. (Proverb of the impossible.) The faith of a Komi is like a Komati. The Komati is the trader of the Telugu country.

a snake, but a Baniya's word you can never take. (Cradle song in Gujarat.) The Baniya's urine breeds scorpions. He has the jaws of an alligator and a stomach of wax. A Baniya and a drum are made to be beaten. The Baniya's greeting is a message from the devil. There are three shameless ones—the Baniya, the Ahir and the whore. A crow, a Kīrār (shopkeeper) and a dog; trust them not even when asleep. Father a Baniya, son a Nawāb. Better a leprous forehead than a Modh Baniya for your neighbour. There is no stopping a child or a Saukā. (The idea is that a money-lender demands payment as persistently as a child clamours for something which it wants.) He won't lend money and he won't advance grain: what does he mean by calling himself a Shāh (village money-lender and shopkeeper)? What the Baniya writes God alone can read. (In most parts of India the trading castes keep their accounts in a special character which is very difficult to read.)

The dogs starve at a Baniya's feast. Will a Baniya eat *ghī* and *khiṇṇi* every day: not he, he eats his own treacle in fear and trembling. A Baniya's wedding is run on the cheap. He chooses the bride for her skill in cooking, but every one stares at her when she goes to the well. (For her good looks and her ornaments.) The Baniya's wife spent a farthing on betel-nut: quoth he 'We shall soon be ruined.' Call a Baniya father and he will give you treacle. One Bhuinhār is meaner than seven Chamārs; one Nuniār (Baniya) is meaner than seven Bhuinhārs. The Mahesrī buys sugar, if the price falls he will sell his wife. The Sarāogi cooks rice, but gives parched gram to his friends. Scales with a long beam and short strings, and a *ser* that weighs only three-quarters: by these you may know the true-born Baniya. The Agarwāl swaggers; his mother a Bhatiyārī (cook), his father a Kalāl (distiller). The Baniya does not trouble to curl his moustache. Here comes the grain-dealer with a basket in his hand and a rosary round his neck. (Affected piety.)

The Baniya bought up rotten grain and sold it dear: the beam of his scales broke and his weights were worn thin: he flourished and the Jāt perished: first died the weavers (Jolāhā) then the oilmen (Teli): a rupee was worth only eight annas: millet sold at the price of pistachio nuts, and wheat at the price of raisins: the carts lay idle, for the bullocks were dead; and the bride went to her husband without the accustomed rites. (A picture of famine.) Wheat jumped from sixteen *ser*s the rupee to thirty-two: 'Oh, wheat, how hast thou dealt with me,' cries the dealer, beating his breast in his shop, 'as sure as I am a Khatri, no more wheat for me. Oh! that I had had my money made up into necklaces and beads.' (A picture of plenty.)

A Komati's evidence. (The story is that a Komati, being called in to identify a horse about which a Hindu and a Musalman were quarrelling, said that the front part of it looked like the Musalman's horse and the hind part like the Hindu's.) A monkey's death, a Komati's adultery. (Both secret.) The Mudaliar's pride wastes lamp-oil. The Mudaliar has only a pound of rice; but his pot is big enough for a bushel. (Ostentation.)

A bamboo cannot fruit, a Khatri cannot plough. (When a bamboo flowers it dies, if a trader takes to agriculture he is ruined.) When frost has killed the sugar-cane, the money-lender pretends to be bankrupt: the Jāt goes to borrow (to pay his land revenue), the Khatri puts him off. A hundred goldsmiths make one

(Proverbs of the impossible) A burglary at a Hajām's; stolen, three pots ~~of~~ combs! The tailor's to-morrow never comes, but the barber must be up to time. The barber and the washerman never come in time. The tailor steals your cloth, and the goldsmith your gold; the barber can steal nothing but your hair. The barber is so rich that he asks for a virgin bride! The barber's son-in-law has his moustache shaved at his wedding. If you go back four generations you will find that your uncle was a barber. (Suggests that the barber is unduly intimate with the women of the household.) In a Palli village the barber is the schoolmaster. (Palli, a low fishing caste in Madras.) A barber, a dog, and a hawk are no good when full; a bullock, a Baniya and a king are no good when empty. Three useless things—a king with no subjects, a he-goat with no flock, a barber with no customers. What can a bald man owe to the barber's mother? A Dom made friends with a barber and got shaved for nothing. A barber's penny. (All profit and no risk.) A barber with bamboo nail-scissors. (Inexperience.) The barber's son learns to shave, the wayfarer gets cut. Nails grow at the sight of the barber. A barber's wit has sixteen sides. When a girl talks cleverly you may know she is a barber's daughter.

### SONAR.

(GOLDSMITH.)

The goldsmith, the tailor, the weaver are too sharp for the angel of death: God alone knows where to have them. Trust not the goldsmith; he is no man's friend, and his word is worthless. If you have never seen a tiger, look at a cat; if you have never seen a thief, look at a Sonār. The goldsmith's ear-boring does not hurt. Break up old ornaments, order new ones, and the Sonār is happy. No thief like the goldsmith; no bumper crop but in irrigated land. The wearer has the bracelet, the Sonār has the gold. The Sonār will ruin your ornaments (by mixing base metal with the gold supplied to him) and will clamour for wages besides. A Sonār will rob his mother and sister; he steals gold even from his wife's nose-ring; if he does not steal, his belly will burst with longing. A little goes in hammering, a little goes in melting, and there is no gold left. (A Sonār's methods.) One goldsmith and one who sifts his ashes. (Two rogues. The Sonār works in gold and his wife dies of hunger. Buying or selling, the goldsmith is always content. (He makes a profit whether he buys old ornaments or sells new ones.) If a Sonār comes to the other bank of the river, keep an eye on your bundle on this side. In an out-of-the-way village the goldsmith's wedding party will stay for seven days. (Shameless sponging.) The fool who made friends with the goldsmith. Only a goldsmith knows a goldsmith's tricks. Is the goldsmith's dog afraid of the sound of the hammer?

### KUMHAR.

(POTTER.)

A potter is always thinking of his pots. The clay is on the wheel; the potter may shape it as he will. The clay said to the potter, 'Now you trample on me; one day I shall trample on you.' (When you are dead.) Turned on the wheel yet no better for it. (Persistent ill luck.) Praise not the pot till it has been fired. You bought the pot; do you think the potter will change it? A



bits of iron and makes them longer.) The carpenter's face ! (Not to be seen when he promised to come.) The Sutār cuts the wood but saves the chips. (For fuel.) Do not sit near the Sutār. (His chips fly.) A whore's oath and a Sutār's chip. The Sutār's adze is as sharp as the gibe of the first wife at the second. The Sutār thinks of nothing but wood and his wife walks and talks in time to the plane. A carpenter out of work planes his friends' buttocks. The fool of a Barhai has neither chisel nor adze and wants to be the village carpenter.

Lifelong drudgery, like the carpenter, who can never stop making spoons of cocoanut shell A carpenter knows all sorts of wood, but cannot cut down a tree. Will you find curds in the house of the carpenter or boiled rice in the house of the niggard ? The carpenter wants his wood too long, and the blacksmith wants his iron too short

### **BHARBHUNJA.**

(GRAIN-PARCHER.)

A Bhabbhunja's (grain-parcher's) daughter, and saffron on her forehead !  
(Proverb of presumption)

### **BHATIARA**

(INN-KEEPER)

Will the children of a Bhatīārā die of hunger. The mother a cook, the son a fop. The Bhatīārā's platter is licked clean The cook is dead ; the constable weeps.

### **HALWAI.**

(CONFECTIONER.)

A confectioner's daughter and a butcher's mistress.

### **MALI.**

(GARDENER.)

The Mālī may water the trees, but the season brings the flowers. The jackals quarrel over the Mālī's Indian corn. In famine the Mālī ; in plenty the weaver. (Food comes before clothes.) Mother an oilwoman, father a Mālī ; their son a Muhammadan and calls himself Sujan Alī (Reflexion on liaisons between members of different castes.) Offend a Mālī ; he will take your flowers but not your life.

### **PANSARI.**

(DRUGGIST.)

A mouse found a bit of turmeric and set up as a Pansārī

### **TELI.**

(OILMAN.)

What will an oilman do if you set him to weave ? Two Telis and foul talk. Whose friend is the Teli ; he earns a rupee and calls it eight annas. An oilman sits at ease while his mill goes round. The Ghānchi's bullock walks miles and gets no further. (He goes round and round in the mill.) A Ghānchi's bullock crushed in the oil-mill. (Over-work) Don't be a Brahman's servant or an oil-presser's bullock The oil-presser lost his bullock and is still looking for the peg to which it was tied. The Teli's bullock is always blind. What does an oilman know about the savour of musk ? An oilman's daughter, and she climbs up a *sīras* tree and sits on the top

**GARERI, BHARWAD.**

(SHEPHERD.)

However good a shepherd he is still a bit of a fool. The shepherd looks for his sheep while he has it on his shoulders. The shepherd who trusted a bear ! The shepherd said that the sheep would bite him and hid himself in a pot. For one thing she is a Garerin ; for another she stinks of garlic. The Gareri got drunk when he saw the Ahir in liquor. If you have never seen a ghost (*bhut*), look at a Bharwād A squint-eyed Bharwād has seven hundred friends. (Every one knows him by his squint.)

**BANJARA.**

(CARRIER AND NOMAD.)

The Banjāras are honest and never steal. The Banjāra's mother watches the seasons (for her son's return from his periodical journeys). Watch for the home coming of a servant, a thief, a Thag and a Banjāra. Strip off her shell, Oh Banjāra, and put it on some one more worthy. (Refers to the shell bracelets worn by married women, and to the reputation of the Banjāris )

**GADHVI.**

(NOMAD AND CATTLE DEALER.)

However far the Gadhvi goes he is always at home. 'Whither bound, Gadhvi ?' 'The beast that goes furthest will carry me.' The Gaddi is a good natured sort of fool ; ask him for a cap and he will give you a coat.

**DARZI.**

(TAILOR.)

Tailors, goldsmiths, and weavers are too sharp for the angel of death : God only knows where to have them. The tailor's 'this evening' and the shoe-maker's 'next morning' never come A tailor's finishing, a goldsmith's polishing take many days. However sharp his sight a Darzi is blind. (He sees nothing but his work.) A Darzi's son is a Darzi and must sew as long as he lives A Darzi steals your cloth and makes you pay for sewing it. When four tailors meet they talk about want of work. When a tailor is out of work he sews up the mouth of his son. Sāi, Merāi, and Darzi, these be three ; 'with our yards, scissors and thread,' say they, 'we be six.' A tailor's needle, now in embroidery and now in canvas. What is it to a tailor whether he march or halt ? (He has only needle and thread to carry.) A snake in a tailor's house ; who wants to kill it ?

**DHOBI.**

(WASHERMAN.)

Every one has his clothes washed, but the Dhobi is always unclean (ceremonially). Change your Dhobi as you change your clothes. The washerman cries for his wages ; the master for his clothes. A Dhobi's dog ; neither at home nor at the washing place (A rolling stone). As many changes of linen as a Dhobi The king's scarf is used as the Dhobi's loin-cloth. At a Dhobi's wedding they all walk on cloth. The customers' clothes are used as a carpet ) The Dhobi's son is the swell of the village. The Dhobi's son is always smart on a whistle and a bang. (The

got butted himself. If there are eight Jolāhās and nine *huqqās* they fight for the odd one. (None of them can count). The Jolāhā was one of twelve, he could only find eleven and went off to bury himself. (He had omitted to count himself and concluded that he must be dead). A Jolāhā will crack indecent jokes with his mother and sister. The Jolāhā's wife will pull her own father's beard.

A Jolāhā reckons time by his own standard. The ass eats the crop and the Jolāhā gets hammered. The Jolāhā went to the mosque to get off his fasting, and was told to say prayers as well *Id* without a Jolāhā! (Impossible). The Jolāhās came to a field of linseed by moonlight; the leader said 'How blue the water is; I hope you all can swim.' The Jolāhā got into his boat, but forgot to pull up the anchor: after rowing all night he found himself where he was and wept at the thought that his native village could not bear to lose him and had followed him on his journey. A crow snatched a piece of bread from the Jolāhā's child and flew with it to the roof: before he gave the child any more the Jolāhā took away the ladder. The Jolāhā listened to the priest reading the Qurān and delighted the reader by bursting into tears: on being asked what part affected him most, he explained that the old Mulla's wagging beard reminded him of the death of his pet goat. Even if you see the Jolāhā brushing the newly woven cloth, do not believe him if he says it is ready: he is as big a liar as the Chamār. When his dogs barked at the tiger the weaver whipped his child. The weaver's wife was fool enough to wrestle with a camel. The Moghal and the Pathān have had their day; now even the Tānti learns Persian. The Tānti ruined himself by buying a pair of bullocks. (By taking to agriculture). A weaver in a small way of business took to weaving *tasar* silk. The thief was seized with colic, and the weaver sat down on a wasp. (Proverb of sudden misfortune). The weaver digs a pit and falls into it himself. (His loom is sunk in the ground). There is neither yarn nor cotton, yet the Kori (Sind weaver) beats his apprentice for not weaving cloth. What has a weaver to do with a sword? (Reputed cowardice). The weaver weaves what he has in his mind.

### DHUNIYA.

(COTTON CARDER).

No one meddles with the tailor and carpenter; all comers beat the cotton carder.

### MARIYA or THATERA.

(BRAZIER).

No one knows the mind of women, crows, parrots and Māriyas. When the Māriya meets his wife he beats her. One brazier swopping goods with another. (Greek meets Greek). Two Thateras cannot make a deal.

### NUNIYA.

(EARTH-WORKER).

A Nuniya's daughter gets no rest, neither in her father's house nor in her husband's.

## CHAMAR, MOCHI, ETC.

(TANNER AND LEATHER WORKER).

The Chamār and the jackal—both wily. The Chamār and the Dhed (birds of a feather). Slippery as a Chamār. The Chamār knows about his last : his curiosity goes no further (*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*). The Chamār always looks at your shoes (To see if they want mending). The shoemaker's wife goes barefoot. The shoemaker gets a smack in the face with a shoe of his own making. Offer old shoes to the shoemaker's god. (The shortest way with a Chamār is to beat him with a shoe) The shoemaker sits on his awl and beats himself for stealing it. Stitch, stitch, in the shoemakers' quarter ; stink, stink, in the tanners' quarter. The cobbler's dirt, the barber's wound are both hard to bear. The cobbler's shoe pinches ; the barber's razor cuts What profits a wayfarer by the best of food in a Chamār's house ? (The caste is unclean). Too many tanners spoil the hide The Chamārs quarrel and the Raja's saddle is torn. The Mochi's knife does not ask where the leather comes from (*i.e.*, whether it is clean or unclean). May you die at a Mochi's door ! (So that he may tan your skin). The Mochi grieves at the sight of his own skin. (Because he can make no use of it). The Mochi's wife runs away, but the Mochi goes on sewing. The good-looking Chamārūn prides herself on her complexion. A Chamār's daughter and her name is Raja Rāni ! The Chamār's daughter does *begār* (compulsory unpaid labour) even in heaven. The Mochi's aunt has smart clothes given to her, but his wife and mother go bare. (A reflexion on the morals of the aunt). If sandal-wood fell into the hands of a Chamār and he used it to pound leather, what could the poor sandal-wood do ? (Unwilling association with low people). The Chamār said to the village headman : ' How is that buffalo of yours ? ' (The skins of dead cattle are the perquisite of the village Chamār, who is supposed to resort to poison to secure his rights). Even a Chakkali girl and the ear of the millet are beautiful when ripe (*i.e.*, when the girl has attained puberty). The spoiled child of the shoemaker made her dinner off shoes : though she did not digest them they did her no harm. To buy leather from a shoemaker. (Proverb of the inappropriate, as the shoemaker keeps leather to make up into shoes). A shoemaker's wife and a blacksmith's mare are always the worst shod. She is a shoemaker's wife, but her feet burn for want of shoes. My affairs are like Nandan's kingdom. (Nandan was a Chamār, who became a king for three hours and issued leather coin). Now that Chamārs may drink from the Ganges the righteous die and the wicked live. (Formerly Chamārs were not allowed to touch the Ganges). There is no hiding the belly from the midwife. (Said of people who make a mystery of what is well known).

## DOM.

(SCAVENGER).

The Dom is the lord of death. (He provides the wood for cremating a corpse). Doms, Brahmins, goats—no good in time of need. Carts, boats and Doms—all three run crooked. A Dom is a bad servant and a fiddle-bow a bad weapon. A Dom met a barber ; one beat his drum, the other held up his mirror (Demanding their fees). A Dom made friends with a barber and got shaved for nothing. A Dom made friends with a weaver and got clothed for nothing. A Dom made

**MAHAR.**

(VILLAGE MENIAL).

The Mahār is dead ; he no longer defiles. The Mahār only meddles with you at the village gate. (He is the gate-keeper of the walled villages in the Maratha country). Why is the Mahār's wife so stuck up ? She has got a cow's horn full of grain. Why is the Mahār so stuck up ? He is holding the headman's horse. Be it crooked or straight, the bread comes from the village. (The Mahār is said to have fifty-two perquisites. One of them is the right to collect bread from house to house). To the Mahār's god the offering is an old blanket. The Mahār's child has bones for playthings. (Animals that die in the village are the perquisite of the Mahār). Let the Chamār run away with the Mahār's mother.

**MANG.**

Trust not a Māng ; he will say anything. Māngs watch the forest-paths as cobras watch treasure. (It is believed that each site of hidden treasure has its keeper reborn in the form of a cobra). What is an aunt to a Māng or a niece to a Bhil. (Neither has any morals).

**PARSI.**

A Pārsi ! He loses no time in breaking his word. Pārsis are educated and yet they sell oil. (Considered rather a low occupation). A Pārsi out of work goes to Pārthi. (*Græculus esuriens in cælum jusseris ibit*). Why follow after Bezon Surti ? (A notable Pārsi swindler and hypocrite). A Pārsi's son ; the urine of an ass. A Pārsi youth never tells the truth. (*Pārsi bachchā, kabhi na bole sachchā*). Grāsias are not dirty, and Pārsis are not outcasts. A bankrupt Baniya turns broker ; a bankrupt Pārsi starts a liquor shop. The day of Zoroaster ; open the box and get out the brandy. If a Pārsi gets rich, he takes a second wife, or buys his neighbour's house. (Dating from before the Pārsi Marriage Act by which at the instance of the Pārsis themselves the reproach of polygamy was removed from their community) Spectacles to the blind, sweets to the sick, a Pārsi at a Hindu's table. (Orthodox Hindus cannot eat with Pārsis). The Māli waters the jasmine, the Bhisti looks for a well, the Andhyāru (Pārsi priest) peers for a rich man's death. (In quest of fees). All dark in a house where you find an Andhyāru. (Suggestion of scandal ; notice the pun). If a Dastur (priest) speaks, he will dishonour his beard.

'Oh, Dasturji, how shall my sins be forgiven ?' 'Present a gold cat, and a silver necklace, and then we will see' The Pārsi woman offers a cocoanut at the Hindu Holi. Crows your uncles and Pārsis your fathers. (Pārsi repartee, in the usual style of Oriental innuendo, to those who call them crows because they expose their dead to be eaten by crows and vultures). A Pārsi's stroke—like a cannon ball. (A Pārsi saying which one would like to trace to the achievements of Pārsi cricketers). The Hindu worships stones ; the Musalman saints ; the religion of the Pārsi is as pure (from idolatry) as the water of the Ganges.

**ASCETICS & DEVOTEES.**

Who can identify a drug that has been powdered and an ascetic whose head has been shorn ? (Jogis do not say, and often do not know, what caste they originally belonged to). Who cares what was a Jogi's caste. Money will buy the most pious

sweeper, what credit the liar? A Mochi (leather dresser) marries a Bhangī (sweeper) and does not stay the night. A big charger and a sweeper riding it. God takes care of the Dublā. A Dublā eats what he earns and leaves his funeral to God. What will you get by robbing a Dublā. A Dublā will do no work while a grain is left in the pot. Dogs and Dublās never lose their way. A Dublā girl married to a Desāi (Social promotion). When Thags are being registered the whole village turns ascetic. When a Thag dines with a Thag the dinner consists of high words. In the company of artisans, bow-makers and clothiers you will hear plenty of lies; if you want more try the Mirāi. Trustees, devils, Rajputs, widows, and Mirāsīs make an outward show of friendship, but inside are full of deceit. The Nāga's wife has a baby; the Nāga takes the medicine. (Is this a reminiscence of the *couvade*?) Do not abuse the boatman until you are over the ferry. A broken cart, an old buffalo and a Pachāda for a friend; avoid these or they will devour you. A Bhābhā (Bhāṭṭiya) is no man's friend. They buried the Bhāṭṭiya seven yards deep and still he did not die. Have you ever seen a dead monkey or a dead Kuravan? Beat not a barking dog, nor tempt the mouth of a Tigālā woman. (The Tigālās, market gardeners of Mysore, are notoriously quarrelsome). Two Mahatam huts and calls itself Luckville (Khairpur). Does the son of an Irulan starve when field rats are scarce? An acrobat's son is always turning somersaults. The Tartar who lives in a city feels himself in prison. Make a Wāghia a Pāgia (Captain), he will still cry *Elkot* (The story goes that a Wāghia who had been dedicated as a child at the temple of Khandoba near Poona rose to command a squadron of Maratha cavalry. One day his horse shied and threw him forcing from him the cry of 'Elkot' with which the Wāghias demand alms). He killed his own buffalo to save it from the Wāghri. When a bat is near death, it flies to the Wāghri's house.

### MUHAMMADANS.

The country that has no crows has no Musalmāns. In a village where there are no Musalmāns the cotton cleaner calls himself Saiyad Miyā. (An impossible name made up of two distinguished titles). What does a beef-eater know of decent language? If girls are sold for a pie a piece don't take a Musalmāni. Can a Musalmān become a Davāri by going to Tirupati? (A famous Hindu temple in the Madras Presidency). ~~A Musalmān ascetic's butter milk is today. Even a Qān (Muhannadān judge) will drink spirits if he gets it for nothing.~~

The Afghan is faithless. Be a thief, be a thief. (Injunction of Afridi parents to a child while passing him backwards and forwards through a hole in a wall—the ordinary method of burglarious entry in India). Blood for blood. (The sanctity of the vendetta). The Baloch who steals gains Paradise for his ancestors even unto seven generations. Who marries not an Isakhi girl deserves an ass for a bride. (The Isakhi clan of the Bannuchi is noted for the beauty of its women). You may know the Chishti by his squint. (A sign of rascality).

The Mulla preferred to be drowned rather than give his hand. (Proverb of avarice). The Nāzi love a quarrel. A Pathān's enmity is like a dung-fire. A saint one moment; a devil the next; that is the Pathān. The Pathān boy and his brother took a short cut and fell over the cliff. (Impatience). Hold up a rupee and you may look at any Mohmand whether man or woman. (Venality). The Pathāns conquer the city and the Jolāhas get the benefit. (By serving them). The Shekh

Sesamum, molasses and the love of a Musalmān are sweet at first and afterwards bitter. (Allusion to ease of divorce among Musalmāns).

Half a doctor and a danger to life : half a Mulla and a danger to faith. You love like the Mulla, who feeds fowls to eat them. A real Miyā is a Miyā indeed, but some Miyās are Pinjārās (cotton teasers). When the Miyāji (family tutor) is at the door it is a bad lookout for the dog. A Miyāji's walk is only as far as the mosque. (He is always begging, either at people's houses or at the mosque) A farthing's worth of soap makes the Miyā a Bābu. Since when has the Bibi become a Brahmani ? (Allusion to the looseness of the marriage tie among Muhammadans).

Calls himself a Saiyad and will steal even a nose-stud. A Bohra is never straight ; he will cringe to you when he wants something and cut you when he has got it.

When salt loses its savor then will the Mopla cease to cheat.

A Pashtūn will go to hell through his own self-will. To see a Mulla is to see misfortune.

The camel calf of uncle Achak. (The reference is to certain Achakzāis who mistook the remains of a Hindu who had been cremated outside the city gates for a camel calf roasted by some robbers and made a hearty meal of it. The proverb is aimed at their ignorance and stupidity and may be regarded as the Baloch analogue of the story of the Thames bargees who ate the puppy pie under Marlow bridge). The Achakzāi is a fellow who will steal an empty flour-bag. A wicked son of Achak—if you see him, fly from him. If the father makes friends with Achak, the son should not follow suit. The Kākar besmeared with filth—if you see him hit him with a stick : expel him from the mosque and you will save trouble. A Masezāi has no hope of God ; and God has no hope of a Masezāi.

The hills are the forts of the Baloch : better are they than double-storied houses with wind-sails : his steed is a pair of white sandals : his brother is his sharp sword. The beauty of the night is in the stars : and that of the desert in the Baloch. Though a Jām be a Jām, yet he is Jadgal by descent ; and therefore not the equal of the princely race of Baloch. A Baloch with his trousers full of wind. (Referring to his boastfulness and the wide trousers that he wears). All the sandal-wearing Baloch are brothers. (Illustrating their democratic spirit). Whose friend is the black snake of a Gichki ? his words are sweet, but his heart is poison. When all is said and done a Gichki is a Hindu at bottom. (Gichkis are supposed to be Hindu immigrants from India). One Sanni and seven chiefs. On this side sixty and on that side fifty : all shared the fate of the chameleon. (The story is that a boy of the Burfat tribe chased a chameleon into the house of a Kalmati and killed it there. The wife of the Kalmati complained to her husband that the sacred right of sanctuary had been violated and he killed three Burfat boys in revenge. Thus arose a blood feud, lasting a hundred years, in the course of which sixty Kalmatis and fifty Burfats were killed). The precipice of the Kalmati. (Foolish pride. On his way from Pasni to Kech a Kalmati asked the road from a stranger who pointed out the track. The Kalmati, however, insisted on going straight on into the hills, with the result that his camel broke its neck. Thereupon he and the stranger fought to the death and were both slain).

The Kulānchi's sheep and the Med's cauldron. (Habit of exaggeration. A Kulānchi told a Med of a huge mountain sheep which he had seen standing on a high hill and grazing in a distant valley. The Med retorted by describing a

A Musalman takes time to bathe and a Hindu takes time to eat his dinner. A Meman and a fish go against the stream. Miyā and Mahādeo will never agree.

If Miyā and Bibi are willing what can the Qāzi do? When the Miyā broke his stick, the Bibi broke the jar of water. (When beaten she broke the pot out of revenge). A Miyā's carriage! the yoke tied up with palm fibre: he will stop at the nearest grog-shop. A Miyā's friendship will last till he reaches your gate! Miyā returns from work and his Bibi combs his beard! Miyā dies, and the Musjid is lit up. Miyā licks the floor of the Musjid and the Pīr wants goats. Miyā licks the lamps in the Musjid and his wife wants dainties. Although Miyā falls his legs are up. A Miyā was not well and drank *bhang* (hemp). (Confusion worse confounded). Miyā goes on striking and cuts down the corn (Recklessness). Miyā a pigmy, and his beard a foot long. Miyā a *seer*, but Bibi a *seer* and a quarter. (The gray mare the better horse) A Miyā has killed a crow, and coming to the town he shouts out that he killed a tiger. The Miyā's mind after a prostitute and the Bibi's mind after the cooking pots. If the Miyā has to go to the north, he will say he goes to the south. Think him mad who tries to be wiser than the Miyā. The Miyā can beat his Bibi (wife) with shoes if he only has them on his feet. (Poverty and pride).

The Miyā's mare went only as far as the boundary of the village. The Miyā's beard on fire, and the Bibi thinks he is warming himself. A Miyā's cat. (A poor and meek person). The Miyā cannot get it, and the Bibi does not like it. (Sour grapes). 'What are you doing, oh Miyā?' 'I have not a minute's leisure and yet I do not earn even a *pie*.' 'Why do you cry, Miyā?' 'My wife died to-day' 'Why do you laugh, Miyā?' 'I got another wife to-day.' 'Get up Miyā!' He will say 'Give me your hand (to raise me).' Miyā goes to Mecca, Bibi goes to Mālwa. Miyā a fop and Bibi does the dusting. A Miyā will live anyhow, but how will the Bibi live?

Every one strokes the Mulla's cow. The horse kicked him off, but the Mulla boasted of his riding.

### PROVINCIAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Never make friends with a Deccani; he is as false as a latrine is filthy. Put not your faith in a three-cornered *pagri*. (Gujarat proverbs of the Marathas).

A Dravidian's nose-holding. (Circumlocution. A Dravidian is said to hold his nose for ceremonial purposes by putting his hand round the back of his neck). A prosperous Telugu is no good to any one.

The fool of a Gujarati, kick him first and then he may understand you (*cf.* the similar saying about the Chattisgarhi cited above).

For houses hurdles of *madār*; for hedges heaps of withered thorn; millet for bread, horse peas for pulse; this is thy kingdom, Raja of Mārwar. (Aimed at Mārwarī money-lenders who pretend to be great people in their own country).

I have seen the land of Bengal where teeth are red and faces black. (Referring to the dark complexion of Bengalis and their supposed fondness for chewing betel). If a Bengali is a man what is a devil? The Dacca Bengalis have not so much as an earthen pot between them. Bengal is the home of magic and the women are full of witchery. An Eastern donkey with a Western bray. (Aimed at the Babus who



the Kāyasth lord of the pen ; and the Khatri lord of the back, *i.e.*, a coward. The youngest among Brahmans, the eldest among Mukuvans (fishermen), are the drudges of the family.

The Chāsā (cultivator) goes to plough ; the Brahman goes to sleep. Loot the Baniya if you meet him, but let the Pathān go on his way (or you will catch a Tartar). Beware of these three—a goldsmith, a tailor, and a village clerk. The goldsmith steals gold and the tailor cloth ; the poor carpenter has only a log to shape, and can steal nothing. The goldsmith's acid and the tailor's tag. (Proverb of delay ; the one tells you that the ornament is ready, all but the cleaning with acid ; the other that the clothes have been made, but the tags have to be sewn on). The goldsmith, the tailor, the Baniya will cheat even their own father. The Teli knows all about oil seeds ; the Shimpi (tailor) all about lies ; the village watchman all about thieves ; the Lingāyat all about everything.

Vellāla chief among cultivators ; Kallār chief among thieves. Trust not a black Brahman nor a fair Pariah Like a Pariah and a Brahman (oil and vinegar). The tricks of a goldsmith and a weaver are nothing to those of a washerman. The washerman knows who is poor in the village ; the goldsmith knows whose ornaments are of pure gold. The goldsmith and the Chetty. (Both rascals) Only an albino is fairer than a Khatri ; only an adulterer is sharper than a Kāyasth. Kāzis, Kasbis, Kasāis, and Kāyasths—the four bad K's. Kāyasths, Khatri and cocks support their kin ; Brahmans, Doms and Nāis destroy theirs. Kāzis, crows, and Kāyasths stand by their kindred. Ahirs, Gareris (shepherds) and Pāsīs (fowlers)—a poisonous crew. A Dhobi's stone and a potter's donkey ; both get plenty of beating. The Rajput and the Jāt are like bows made of pestles ; they will break but never bend. If a Tāmboli (bet-seller) does the oilman's work he will set the house on fire. The oilman's cheeks are smooth and shining ; the grain parcher's burnt brown. Bābhans, dogs, and Bhāts are always at war with their kin. Seven Chamārs are not as mean as one Bābhan, and seven Bābhans are not as mean as one Noniyār Baniya. Only the Nāus and the Kewats help their own caste ; the others merely pretend. Oh King sneeze ! Let go the Brahman and keep the Jati ; and should you meet a Baniya never let him off. A Dhobi is better than a Kāyasth ; a Sonār is better than a cheat ; a dog is better than a deity ; and a jackal better than a Pandit.

The Gareri got drunk when he saw the Ahir in liquor. Ahir, Dafāli, Dhobi, Dom—these are the four castes that sing. A prodigal Baniya, a weak King, a Baidya with an ignorant son, a silent Bhāt, an unclean harlot, these, saith Ghāg, will come to no good. There be three that dance in other people's houses—the Kāyasth, the Baidya, and the *dalāl*. (Profit by the misfortunes of others. The *dalāl* is the lawyer's tout who promotes litigation and flourishes exceedingly in modern India). The Baniya can trade ; others can only imitate. The oilman trades without capital ; the grain parcher's stock is a broken pot. When the salt dealer's salt is upset he gains ; when the oilman spills his oil he loses. (The salt picks up sand, the oil soaks into the ground). The Baniya's speech is polished, the Kumhār's is rough, the Sikligar (cutler) is honest and the Chamār a rogue. Dine with a Brahman and Jogi and let a Karār make the fourth. (The two former have a reputation as gourmets, the latter is said to be good company). A Dom, a Brahman, and a goat are of no use in time of need. A Māli wants clouds, a Dhobi sun, a slanderer will talk, and a thief will hold his tongue. In no man's land one makes friends with Gujars and Gaddis.

Having drunk water from his hands, it is foolish to ask about his caste. (Water is the most potent vehicle of ceremonial pollution. Moral—the least said the soonest mended.) When on a journey you should act like a Sudra and take food from any one.

A low-caste man is like a musk rat ; if you smell him you remember it. His father pounded parched rice ; his grandfather coriander seed. In old days men looked to caste, now they look to money. (Aimed at modern Indian match-making.)

As the ore is like the mine, so a child is like its caste. Scholars adorn a caste. As caste hates caste, so does one agnate hate another. A slipper in the mouth of caste cost money to all. (One man's offence dishonours the whole caste.) The speech fits the caste as the peg fits the hole. (Refined language is a sign of good caste.) Castes may differ, virtue is everywhere the same. Every uncle says that his caste is the best.

Though your caste is low, your crime is none the less. Nowadays money is caste. Half-castes are the scum of the earth.

'I have sold my limbs, not my caste' (Supposed to be said by a servant whose master has asked him to do something injurious to his caste.)

The Hindu gods have fled to Dwārka ; the Musalmān saints to Mecca ; under British rule the Dheds shove you about. (The Dheds are a low caste of Bombay whose touch is pollution.) Rākhāls and Chāsās handle the ammonite. (This and the preceding proverb refer to the decline of religion in modern times.) The Pandit reads his scriptures and the Mulla his Qurān ; men make a thousand shows, yet find not God. Spectacles for the blind, sweets for the sick, a Pārsi at a Hindu's table. (A Hindu cannot entertain a Pārsi.) Musalmāns go mad at *tābuts*, women at marriages, Hindus at the *Holi*. To the Hindu Rām is dear, to the Musalmān Rahim ; they hate with a deadly hatred, but know not the reason why. The Hindu bows down to stones (idols), the Musalmān worships saints ; but the Pārsi's religion is pure as Ganges water. (Pārsi proverb of the freedom of their religion from the stain of idolatry.) A superstitious Pārsi woman offers a cocoanut at the *Holi*. (Illustrating the common tendency to observe other people's festivals.) An ass is unclean ; a *chotliwālā* is no friend. (Pārsi proverb : *chotli* is the Gujarāti name for the scalp-lock worn by Hindus.) A Musalman takes time to bathe ; a Hindu takes time to eat (Muhammadan saying).

## SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE INDO-ARYAN TRACT.

AJMER-MERWARA, RAJPUTANA, THE PUNJAB, AND KASHMIR.

HINDUS.	HINDUS— <i>concl.</i>	HINDUS— <i>concl.</i>
CLASS I.—Brāhmans.	CLASS V.—Castes from whom some Brāhmans take <i>pakk</i> and Rājputs take <i>kachhi</i> .	CLASS VII— <i>concl.</i>
Br hmans . . . 2,330,582	Arora . . . 592,533	Brought forward 2,209,494
	Darzi . . . 55,968	Chuhrā . . . 947,982
CLASS II.—Kshatriyās and castes allied to Kshatriyā who are considered of high social standing.	Ghirāth . . . 169,117	Dhanak . . . 98,791
Khatri . . . 439,085	Kānet . . . 387,308	Khātik . . . 68,888
Rājput . . . 1,199,953	Kumbhār . . . 462,081	Pāsi . . . 1,399
Others . . . 2,117,761	Nāi . . . 301,427	Regar . . . 14,287
	Rabāi or Rāika . . . 13	Others . . . 297,904
	Others . . . 228,565	
TOTAL . . . 3,755,799	TOTAL . . . 2,197,012	TOTAL . . . 3,638,745
	CLASS VI.—Castes from whose <i>lota</i> the twice-born will not take water.	GROUP TOTAL 19,731,592
CLASS III.—Vaishyās or trad- ing castes.	Bairāgi . . . 76,385	Indefinite group
Agarwāl . . . 215,781	Chimba . . . 62,595	unclassified . . . 133,581
Khandelwāl . . . 68,790	Daghi and Koli . . . 266,012	
Maheswari . . . 88,591	Dhākar . . . 78,944	GRAND TOTAL 19,865,173
Others including “Baniya” . . . 441,888	Dhobi . . . 65,543	
	Dumna . . . 57,711	MUSALMANS.
TOTAL . . . 815,050	Kamboh . . . 56,297	CLASS I.—(Ashraf.)
	Khāti . . . 157,968	Better class Muhāmmadans
	Labāna . . . 36,444	Baloch . . . 469,393
	Lodhā . . . 53,482	Moghal . . . 126,169
	Lohār and Tārkan . . . 416,588	Pathān . . . 425,966
	Mahtar . . . 48,632	Rājput . . . 1,449,601
	Mina . . . 478,612	Saiyad . . . 333,000
CLASS IV.—Castes from wh m members of the higher castes can take <i>pakk</i> and water.	Rāwat . . . 42,557	Shekh . . . 631,774
Ahir . . . 366,635	Saini . . . 106,011	
Gujar . . . 667,506	Teli . . . 50,925	TOTAL . . . 3,435,912
Jāt . . . 2,491,923	Others . . . 196,843	
Māli . . . 440,949	TOTAL . . . 2,251,549	CLASS II.—(Ajlaf.)
Sonār or Sunār . . . 201,976		Lower class Muhāmmadans
Thākkar . . . 102,056	CLASS VII—Castes untouch- able.	Awān . . . 443,801
Others . . . 470,810	Bhil . . . 345,170	Gujar . . . 747,272
	Chamār . . . 1,864,324	Jāt . . . 2,080,267
TOTAL . . . 4,741,855	Carried over 2,209,494	Khokar . . . 108,314
		Meo . . . 315,199
		Others . . . 54,802
		TOTAL . . . 3,749,655

# **SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*contd.***

BOMBAY, BARODA, AND COORG—*contd.*

HINDUS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS III— <i>contd.</i> (b) Agriculturists.	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS IV— <i>contd.</i> Brought forward . 313,428	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS IV— <i>contd.</i> (e) Mendicants and beggars.
Kunbis . 2,417,531	Gurav . . 65,019	Bārīā . . 49,065
Othe . 22,518	Hajjām . . 212,942	Gosāi . . 59,196
	Māchhi . . 37,987	Joshi . . 11,100
	Others . . 108,175	Others . . 143,670
TOTAL . 2,440,049	TOTAL . 737,551	TOTAL . 263,031
(c) Cattle-breeders	(b) Those who do petty business.	(f) Criminal Tribes.
Ahir . . 109,204	Bhandāri . . 168,903	Dublā or Talavia . 110,475
Bharwād and Dhangar . . 788,837	Halipaik . . 52,059	Others . . 2,945
Chārāns . . 35,388	Kumbhār . . 280,640	TOTAL . 113,420
Rabāri . . 148,308	Rāvalia . . 59,588	
Others . . 863	Vāghri . . 83,120	
TOTAL . 1,082,600	Others . . 25,188	
	TOTAL . 669,498	CLASS V. — Depressed class, whose touch is supposed to pollute.
(d) Artizans.	(c) Those engaged in labour and Agriculture.	Berad . . 177,082
Bhāvsār . . 26,221	Chodrā . . 30,972	Bhangī . . 105,072
Kānsāra . . 39,920	Gavandi . . 49,829	Bhīl . . 482,188
Lohār . . 134,667	Gavli . . 41,525	Chāmbhār . . 311,303
Pānchkalsi . . 9,342	Khārva . . 37,931	Dhed (or Mahār) . 1,320,936
Sālvi and Koshti . . 106,426	Koli . . 1,994,600	Kabaligar . . 35,612
Sonār and Soni . . 202,457	Konkani . . 349,183	Kāthkari . . 59,872
Sutār . . 233,737	Māli . . 294,393	Māng . . 250,729
Teli . . 129,038	Vanjārī and Lamān . . 133,154	Meghwāl . . 34,962
Others . . 74,589	Others . . 280,195	Nāikdā . . 54,561
TOTAL . 956,397	TOTAL . 3,211,782	Pānchāl . . 60,489
CLASS IV.—Sudras.		Others . . 586,278
(a) (Clean Sudras)—Those rendering personal service.	(d) Performers and actors.	TOTAL . 3,479,084
Bhoi . . 61,707	Dādhi or Dhadhi . 91,743	GROUP TOTAL . 16,734,952
Darzi . . 164,600	Others . . 13,748	Unclassified and animistic . 3,752,667
Dhobi . . 87,121	TOTAL . 105,491	GRAND TOTAL . 20,487,619
Carried over . 313,428		

LINGAYATS—*concl'd.*

CLASS II.— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS II.— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS III.— <i>cont'd.</i>
Brought forward. 249,626	Brought forward 468,730	Brought forward . 97,756
20. Kurub . . . 2,405	44. Vastradavaru . . . 4	11. Kāmāthi . . . 5
21. Kurālī . . . 831		12. Nādig . . . 24,621
22. Kursālī . . . 734	CLASS TOTAL . . . 468,624	13. Sāib . . . 617
23. Lālgondā . . . 1,204		14. Sālī . . . 917
24. Mālav . . . 1,207		CLASS TOTAL . . . 93,545
25. Māthāpatti . . . 387	CLASS III.—Non-Pancham-	
26. Maskin Mālav . . . 676	sālī without Ashtavarna	
27. Nāglig . . . 10,269	Rights.	
28. Nilgar . . . 368	Endogamous.	CLASS IV.—Low Castes.*
29. Nonebar . . . 10,458	1. Agāsā . . . 11,771	1. Chalwādi . . . 52
30. Padsālī . . . 1,746	2. Ambig . . . 940	2. Dhor or Dobori . . . 655
31. Padamsālī . . . 1,694	3. Basavi . . . 7	3. Holia or Mahār . . . 884
32. Panchāchārī . . . 2,123	4. Burud or	4. Hulsar . . . 4
33. Pattesālī . . . 3,688	Medar . . . 430	5. Jingar . . . 26
34. Pujār . . . 515	5. Devāng.	6. Samgar . . . 1,959
35. Raddī . . . 42,980	Hatkar	CLASS TOTAL . . . 3,580
36. Saddar . . . 57,569	or Jada . . . 30,371	
37. Shivshinpagar . . . 7,725	Bile Jada . . . 2,405	Unspecified . . . 132,138
38. Shivjogi . . . 238	Unspecified . . . 11,710	
39. Sangar . . . 80	6. Divātgi . . . 226	GRAND TOTAL . . . 1,422,293
40. Tāmboli . . . 360	7. Hāndevazir . . . 8,543	
41. Tilarī . . . 9,151	8. Ilgar . . . 511	
42. Turkar . . . 1,163	9. Kāchārī . . . 231	* It is not unusual to deny
43. Vāni . . . 61,423	10. Kalāvānt . . . 240	that these castes are mem-
Carried over 468,730	Carried over 97,756	bers of the Lingāyat com-
		munity at the present day.

NOTE.—A tentative classification founded on imperfect enquiries and subject to revision upon the completion of the investigations now in progress.

## SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT.

1, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 2, MYSORE, 3, HYDERABAD, 4, TRAVANCORE, AND 5, COCHIN.

HINDUS.	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>
CLASS I.—Brahman and allied castes.	CLASS II.— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS III.—Vaishya and allied castes.
Brāhman . . . 2,158,261	Brought forward 139,635	Komati . . . 672,590
CLASS II.—Kshatriyā and allied castes.	Patnūl karan . . . 89,299	Others (including
Kshatriyā . . . 139,635	Rājput . . . 66,266	Vāni . . . 405,549
	Rāzu . . . 113,528	
	Others . . . 41,768	CLASS TOTAL . . . 1,078,139
Carried over 139,635	TOTAL . . . 450,496	

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*contd.*

1. MADRAS, ETC., 2. CHUTIA-NAGPUR ETC., 3. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

1. Madras Presidency, 2. Mysore, 3. Hyderabad, 4. Travancore, and 5. Cochin— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>		HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	
	CLASS II.—Castes of twice-born rank.		CLASS IV.— <i>contd.</i>	
HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	Bābhān . . .	35,360	Brought forward	69,151
CLASS XI.— <i>contd.</i>	Kāyasth . . .	27,601	Mallāh . . .	12,651
Brought forward	Rājput . . .	108,333	Nuniā . . .	8,282
Lingāyat . . .	Others . . .	25,047	Raunār . . .	8,712
Pāñchāla . . .	TOTAL . . .	196,341	Sunri . . .	73,218
Others . . .	CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.		Teli . . .	169,692
TOTAL . . .	Sub-class (a).		Others . . .	10,324
	Ahur (Goāla) . . .	371,209	TOTAL . . .	352,030
CLASS XII.—Castes insufficiently indicated and not corresponding with the other provinces.	Chero . . .	21,996	CLASS V.—Unclean Sudras.	
Vadugan . . .	Kāhār . . .	76,943	Bathudi . . .	44,670
Other . . .	Kharwār and Bhogta . . .	142,900	Bedeā . . .	22,669
TOTAL . . .	Koiri . . .	83,362	Bhuiya . . .	346,981
	Kurmi . . .	463,476	Bhumij . . .	236,984
	Others . . .	73,779	Chāmār . . .	92,470
	TOTAL . . .	1,233,665	Chik (Barik) and Pān . . .	308,930
	Sub-class (b).		Dhobi . . .	67,078
CLASS XIII.—Castes unspecified and religious mendicants.	Bārhi . . .	42,530	Dosādth . . .	60,448
TOTAL . . .	Hajjām . . .	47,077	Ghāsi . . .	51,205
	Kumbhār . . .	135,206	Gond . . .	201,647
GROUP TOTAL	Lohār (Kamār) . . .	149,098	Kandh . . .	121,011
Animists and unclassified . . .	Māli . . .	17,152	Khariā . . .	88,872
GRAND TOTAL	Rāntia . . .	39,471	Korā . . .	27,115
	Sarak . . .	13,298	Māhli . . .	33,118
	Sonār . . .	15,022	Māl . . .	14,095
	Others . . .	6,994	Mundā . . .	325,753
	TOTAL . . .	465,848	Rājwār . . .	69,620
	CLASS IV.—Inferior Sudras.		Savar . . .	15,746
1. Chutia-Nagpur, 2. States of Chota-Nagpur, 3. States of Orissa, 4. Angul and Khandmahals.	Kalwār . . .	9,985	Tatwā . . .	81,411
CLASS I.	Kewāt . . .	51,697	Turi . . .	35,752
Brāhman . . .	Jhorā . . .	7,469	Others . . .	48,037
	Carried over . . .	69,151	TOTAL . . .	2,293,612
			CLASS VI.—Scavengers and filth-eaters.	
			Dom . . .	39,548
			Hāri . . .	41,510
			Carried over . . .	81,058

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*concl'd.*I. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR—*concl'd.*

1. Central Provinces and 2. Berar— <i>concl'd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>concl'd.</i>	MUSALMANS.
HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS V.— <i>cont'd</i>	1. Madras, etc., 2. Chutia-Nagpur, etc., 3. Central Provinces and Berar.
CLASS IV.—Low Dravidian Tribes.	Brought forward . 126,710	CLASS I.—(Ashrāf) Better class Muhāmmadan.
Baiga . . . 24,744	Beldār . . . 23,889	Moghal . . . 61,766
Bharia-Bhumia . . 33,561	Bhoi . . . 27,193	Pathān . . . 331,479
Bhil . . . 28,155	Chamār . . . 763,298	Saiyad or Syed . . 353,952
Bijnhwar . . . 71,099	Dhobi . . . 153,925	Shekh . . . 2,030,358
Gond . . . 1,997,654	Ganda . . . 277,830	TOTAL . . . 2,777,555
Halba . . . 90,093	Ghāsia . . . 38,726	
Kāndh . . . 168,641	Koli . . . 46,713	CLASS II.—(Ajlāf) Lower class Muhammadan.
Kawār . . . 122,519	Kātia . . . 31,924	Dudekula . . . 74,538
Kisān . . . 32,788	Kori . . . 35,971	Jolāha . . . 157,399
Sawara . . . 144,468	Kumhār . . . 19,315	Jonākan . . . 91,630
Others . . . 72,713	Mahār . . . 350,967	Labbāi . . . 425,788
TOTAL . . . 2,786,435	Māng . . . 69,230	Mappilla . . . 910,843
	Mehtar . . . 91,816	Meltan . . . 55,214
	Pankha . . . 137,855	Tulukhan . . . 52,206
	Others . . . 49,848	Others . . . 138,339
	TOTAL . . . 2,345,210	TOTAL . . . 1,767,618
CLASS V.—Castes who cannot be touched.	GROUP TOTAL 13,332,398	GROUP TOTAL 4,683,512
Andh . . . 39,679	Animists and unclassified . . 675,687	Unclassified . . . 302,96
Balāhi . . . 44,272		GRAND TOTAL 4,986,473
Bāsor . . . 42,759	GRAND TOTAL 14,008,085	
Carried over . . 126,710		

## ARYO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT.

## THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHAR.

United Provinces.	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>
HINDUS.	CLASS II.—Castes allied to Brāhmans and who are considered to be of high social standing.	CLASS III.—Kshatriyās.
CLASS I.		
Brahman . . . 4,706,332	Bhāt . . . 131,881	Khatri . . . 49,518
Others . . . 48,922	Bhuinhār . . . 205,951	Rājput . . . 3,354,058
	Tāga . . . 109,578	Others . . . 693
	Others . . . 12,951	TOTAL . . . 3,404,269
TOTAL . . . 4,755,254	TOTAL . . . 460,361	

THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHAR—*contd.*

[illegible]



# **SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—contd.**

## **BENGAL AND ORISSA—contd.**

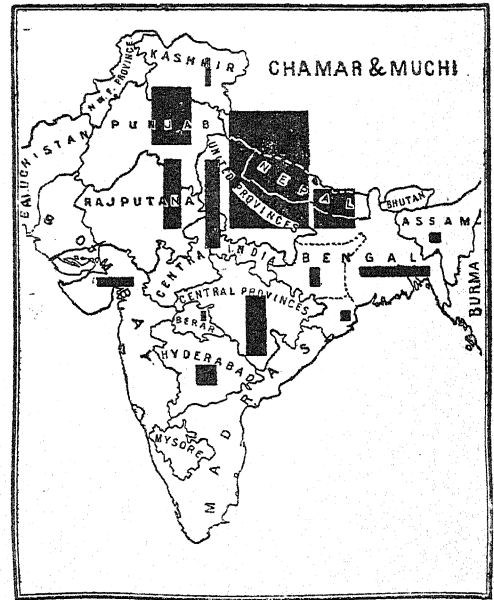
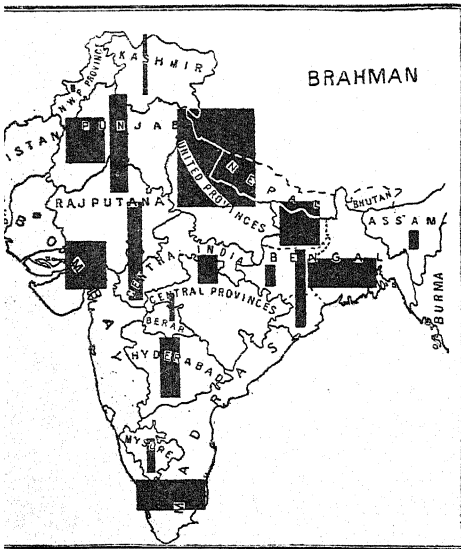
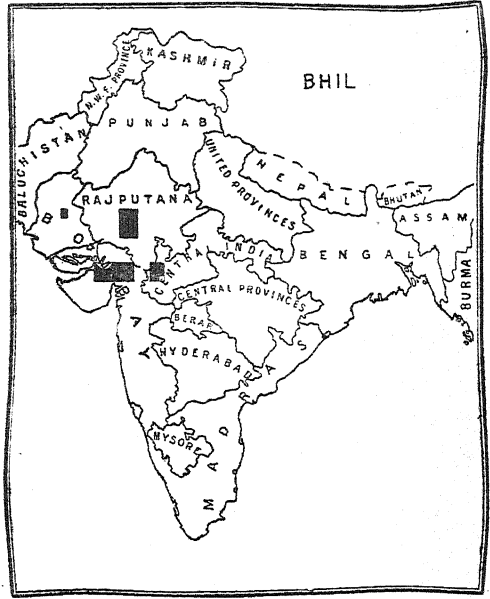
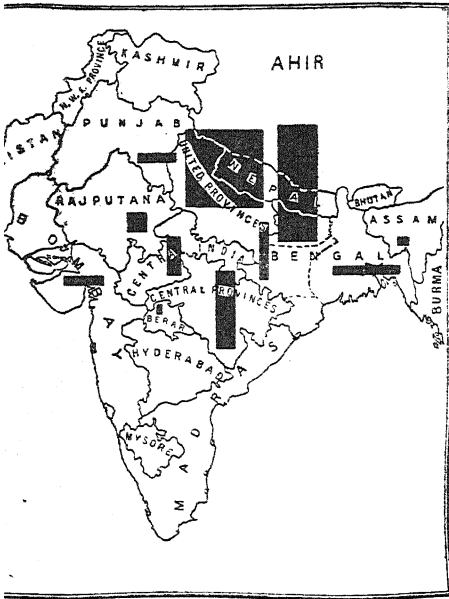
Bengal.		HINDUS—contd.		HINDUS—contd.	
HINDUS—contd.		CLASS VII—cont.		CLASS IV.—Unclean Sudras.	
CLASS V—contd.		Scavengers.		Gola . . .	47,485
Brought forward . . .	864,320	Dom . . .	184,170	Tānti . . .	134,764
Subarna-banik . . .	105,121	Hāri . . .	168,485	Others . . .	47,823
Sutradhār . . .	166,748				
Others . . .	*415,008	TOTAL . . .	352,655	TOTAL . . .	230,072
TOTAL . . .	1,551,197	GROUP TOTAL . . .	17,721,080	CLASS V.—Caste whose touch defiles.	
GLASS VI.—Low castes abstaining from beef, pork and fowls.		Animists and unclassified . . .	1,898,457	Jyotish . . .	23,877
Bāgdi . . .	1,014,752	GRAND TOTAL . . .	19,619,537	Kewāt . . .	116,541
Chain . . .	49,064			Kumhār . . .	52,804
Dhobi . . .	220,332			Teli . . .	155,362
Jalia Kaibarta . . .	262,413	Orissa.		Others . . .	80,348
Kālu . . .	114,163	HINDUS.			
Kapāli . . .	141,900	CLASS I.—Brāhmans.		TOTAL . . .	428,932
Kotāl . . .	10,627	Brahman . . .	415,140		
Malo (Jhāle) . . .	221,758	CLASS II.—Twice-borns.		GLASS VI.—Castes eating fowls and drinking spirits.	
Nāmasudra (Chandāl) . . .	1,836,742	Karan . . .	117,649	Sub-class (a).	
Patni . . .	60,830	Khandāit . . .	602,556	Chāmār . . .	25,273
Pod . . .	464,733	Others . . .	29,547	Others . . .	6,030
Rājibansi . . .	1,560,516	TOTAL . . .	749,752		
Tipāra . . .	25,725	CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.		TOTAL . . .	31,303
Tiyār . . .	200,544	Sub-class (a)			
Others . . .	229,375	Chāsa . . .	581,627	Sub-class (b).	
TOTAL . . .	6,413,474	Māl . . .	21,313	Bāuri . . .	157,548
GLASS VII.—Unclean feeders.		Rāju . . .	47,085	Dhobi . . .	81,736
Bāuri . . .	309,258	Sudha . . .	41,802	Gokha . . .	43,951
Chāmār . . .	127,129	Sub-class (b).		Others . . .	9,442
Kāora . . .	111,942	Barhi . . .	44,012		
Kora . . .	45,818	Bhandāri . . .	81,149	TOTAL . . .	292,677
Māl . . .	120,018	Gaur . . .	267,115		
Muchi . . .	411,596	Guria . . .	113,838	Sub-class (c).	
Others . . .	66,831	Kāmār . . .	33,646	Kandra . . .	142,861
		Others . . .	32,583	Others . . .	6,406
TOTAL . . .	1,192,592	TOTAL . . .	1,264,770	TOTAL . . .	149,267

\* Includes Baistams who represent religious sect Vaishnavas, 392,442.

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE MONGOLOID TRACT—*concla.*ASSAM, SIKKIM, KOOCH-BIHAR, AND HILL TIPPERA—*concla*

Assam (Surma and Brahma-putra Valleys) and Hill Districts and Plains— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	Assam, Sikkim, Kooch-Bihar, and Hill Tippera.
HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	CLASS I.— <i>contd.</i>	MUHAMMADANS.
CLASS III.—Castes from whose hands Brāhmans will not take water.	Brought forward 11,828	CLASS I.—(Ashraf).
Ahom . . . 178,049	Khās . . . 3,253	Better class Muhammadans.
Jugi and Katani . 161,167	Others . . . 402	Saiyad . . . 10,954
Māli (Bhuin-māli) 50,055	TOTAL . . . 15,483	Shekh . . . 1,661,923
Nadiyāl (Dom-patni) . . . 194,842	CLASS II.—Intermediate castes.	Pathān . . . 11,454
Nāma Sudra (Chandāl) . . . 169,576	Gurang . . . 4,503	Others . . . 1,426
Shaha (Sunri) . . . 54,600	Limbu . . . 5,916	TOTAL . . . 1,685,757
Others . . . 285,609	Manger . . . 2,441	
TOTAL . . . 1,093,898	Rājibansi (Koch) . 338,309	CLASS II.—(Ajlāf).
GROUP TOTAL 2,285,769	Others . . . 8,580	Lower class Muhammadans.
Animist and unclassified . 2,212,024	TOTAL . . . 359,740	Sub-class (a).
GRAND TOTAL 4,497,793	CLASS III.—Low castes.	Nasya . . . 42,607
Sikkim, Kooch-Bihar and Hill Tippera.	Chakma . . . 4,510	Sub-class (b).
HINDUS.	Kami . . . 2,838	Jolāha . . . 1,929
CLASS I.—High castes.	Khambu . . . 9,648	Others . . . 1,710
Brahman . . . 11,828	Kuki . . . 7,547	TOTAL . . . 46,246
Carried over 11,828	Lepcha . . . 7,982	GROUP TOTAL 1,732,003
	Nama Sudra . . . 8,543	Unclassified . . . 62,894
	Others . . . 66,300	GRAND TOTAL 1,794,897
	TOTAL . . . 107,368	
	GROUP TOTAL . . . 482,600	
	Unclassified . . . 75,787	
	GRAND TOTAL . . . 558,387	

MAPS OF CASTES.



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

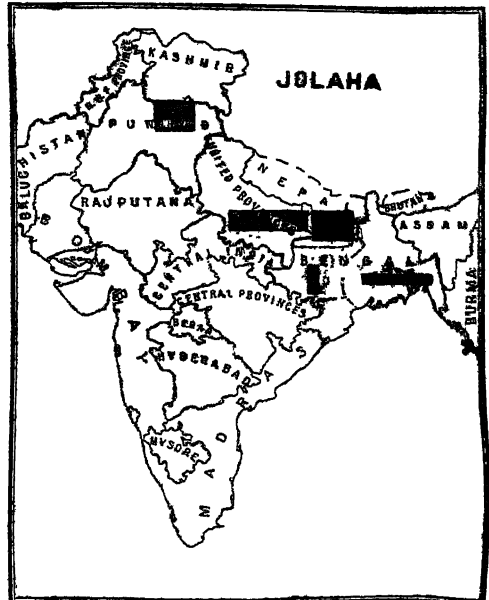
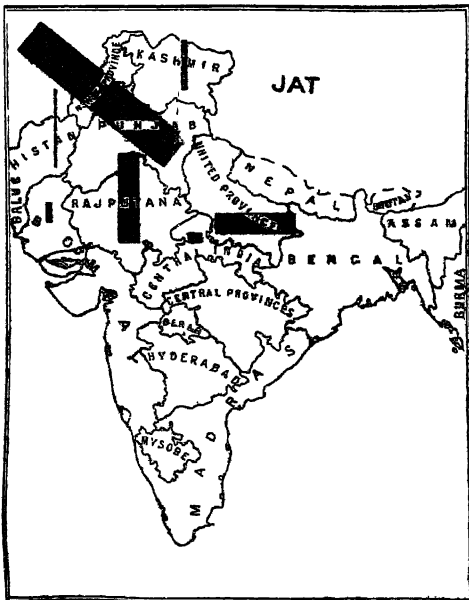
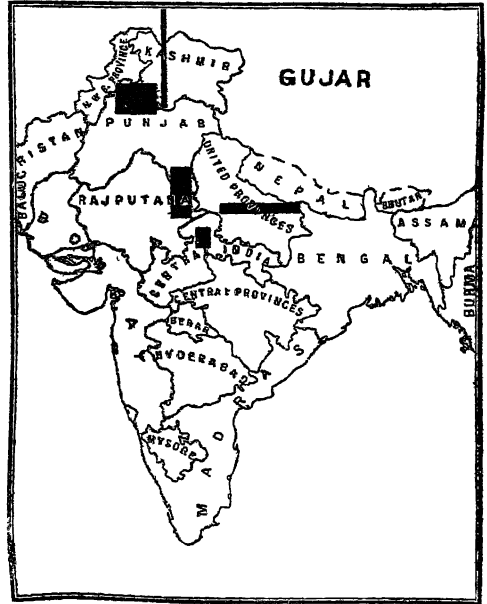
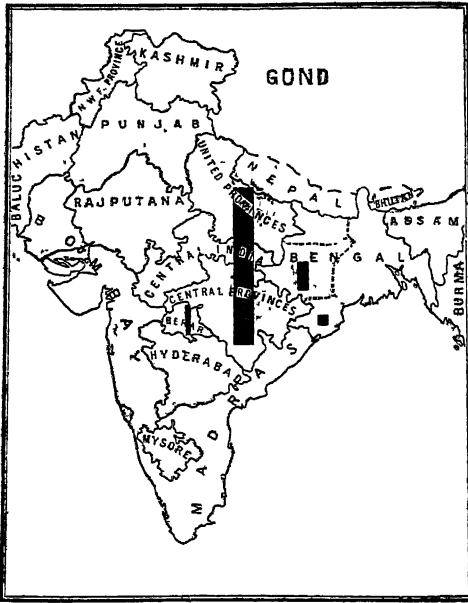
10 MILLION  
500,000  
100,000  
10,000

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.O.  
3 P.O.  
1 P.O.  
0 P.O.

# APPENDIX III.

11



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

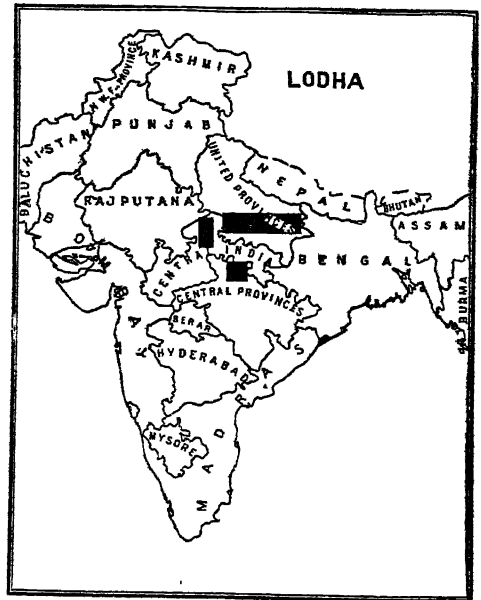
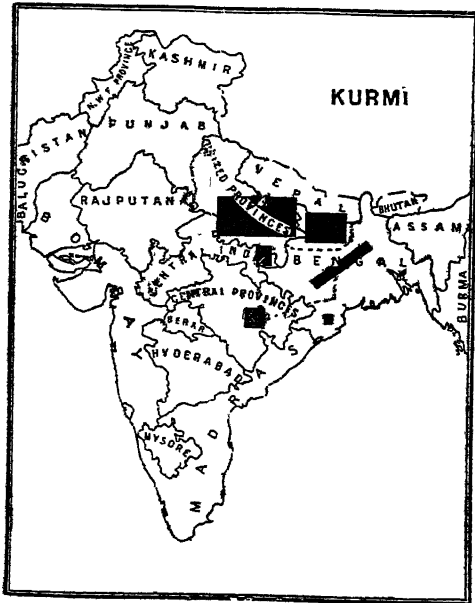
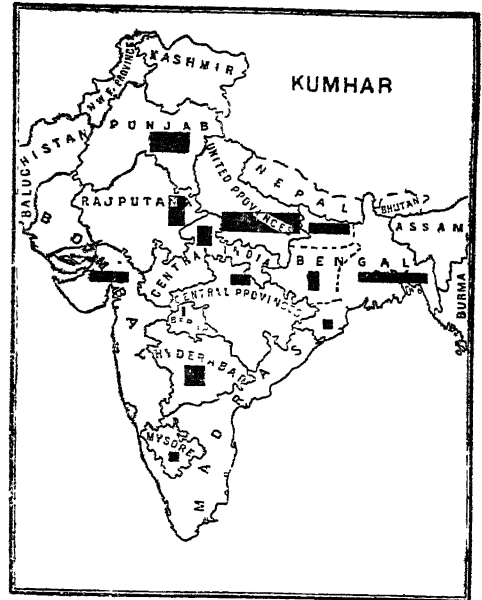
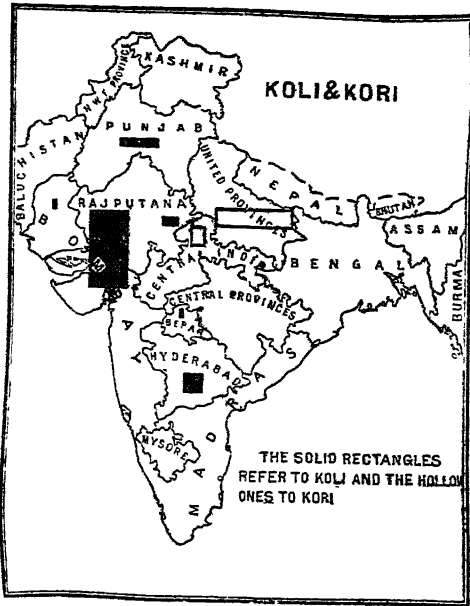
300 000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE.

0 MILLION  
10  
20  
30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PRO-  
PORTION WHICH THE  
CASTE BEARS TO THE  
POPULATION OF THE  
PROVINCE

5 P.C.  
3  
1  
0



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

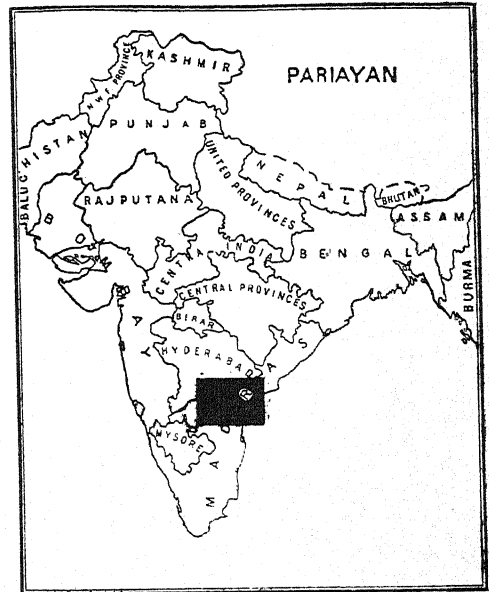
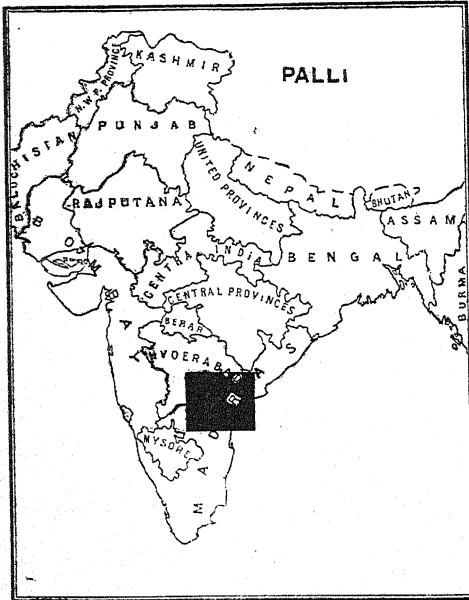
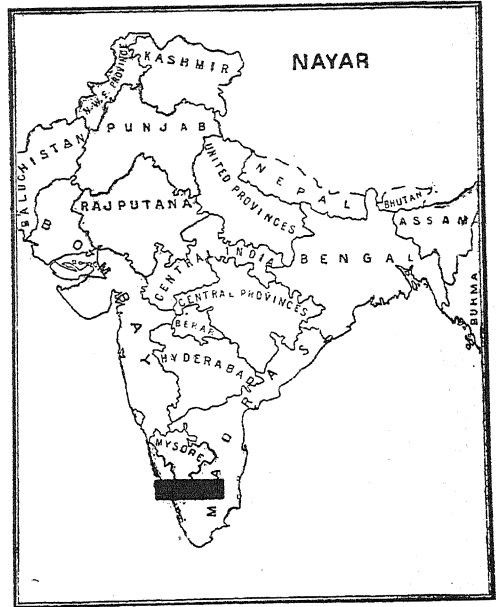
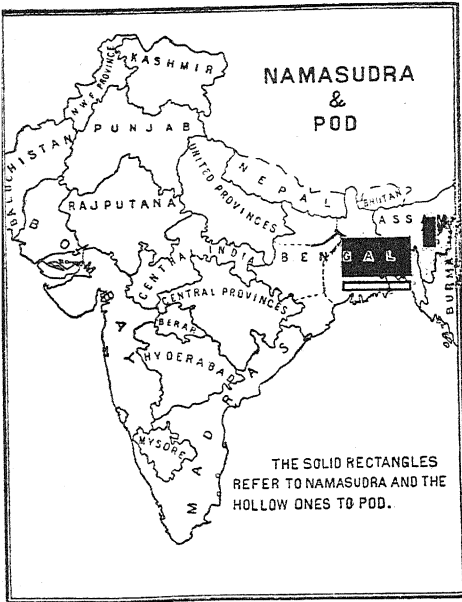
300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

0 MILLION  
10  
20  
30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.C.  
3  
1  
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THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

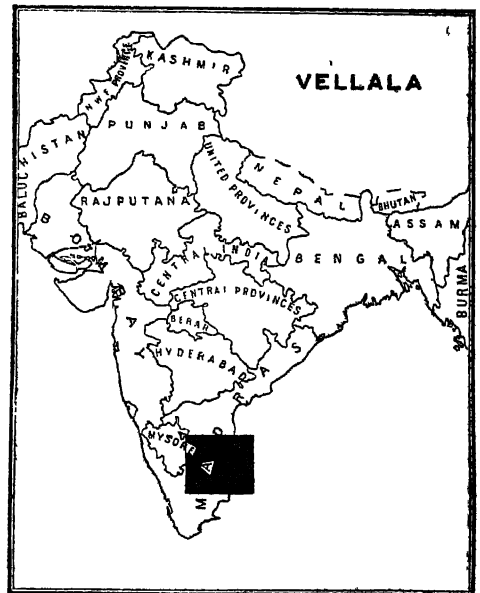
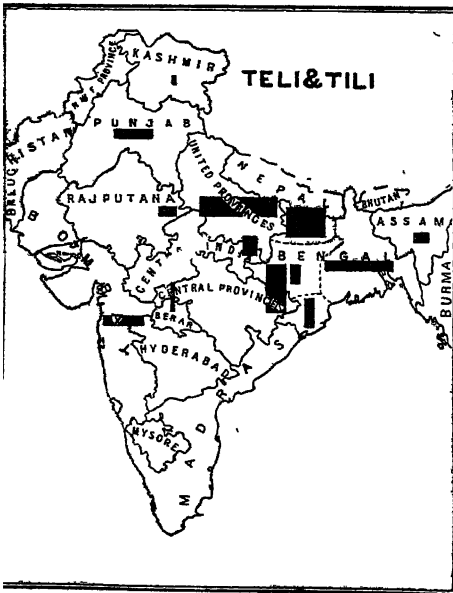
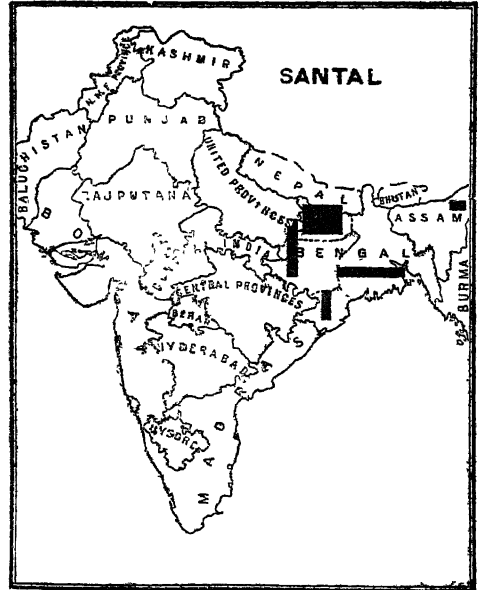
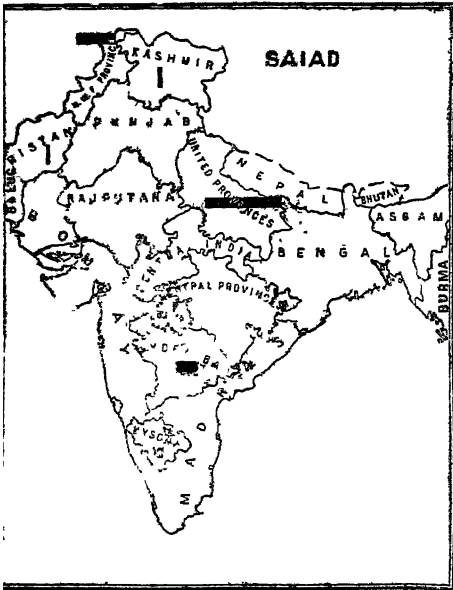
■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

0 MILLION  
10  
20  
30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.C.  
3  
1  
0



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE  
SHOWS THE STRENGTH  
OF THE CASTE IN EACH  
PROVINCE

■ 300 000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE  
INDICATES THE POPU-  
LATION OF THE PRO-  
VINCE .. .. .

0 MILLION  
10  
20  
30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PRO-  
PORTION WHICH THE  
CASTE BEARS TO THE  
POPULATION OF THE  
PROVINCE

5 P.C.  
3  
1  
0







BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic).	{ 80 and under 82.5 . 82.5 and under 85 . 85 and under 87.5 . 87.5 and under 90 . 90 and over .	9	◆◆
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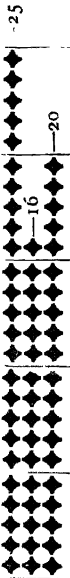


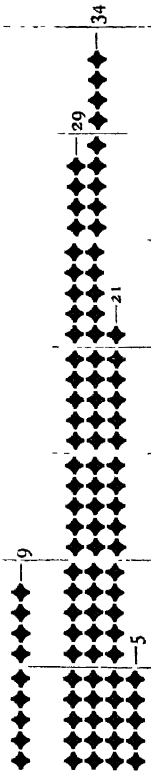





NOSE.												
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).	{ Under 65 65 and under 70	22	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		32	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
	{ 70 and under 75 75 and under 80	50	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		44	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	{ 80 and under 85	40	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).	{ 85 and over	12	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		2	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
ROOT OF NOSE.												
PLATY-OPIC (Flat).	{ Under 110 110 and under 113	16	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		36	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
MES-OPIC (Medium).	{ 113 and under 116 116 and under 119 119 and under 122 122 and over	70	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		56	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		20	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		20	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
STATURE.												
Centimetres.												
SHORT	{ Under 160 5' 3"	34	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		76	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
BELOW MEAN	{ 160 and under 165 5' 3"—5' 5"	62	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		28	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
ABOVE MEAN	{ 165 and under 170 5' 5"—5' 7"	62	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		28	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
TALL.	{ 170 and over 5' 7"	28	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	
		28	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	

[illegible]









[illegible]

[illegible]



MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 70 \text{ and under } 75 \\ 75 \text{ and under } 80 \\ 80 \text{ and under } 85 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 25 \\ 16 \\ 20 \end{array} \right.$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 16 \\ 20 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 25 \\ 16 \\ 20 \end{array} \right.$
BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine).	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 85 \text{ and over} \end{array} \right.$	6			
ROOT OF NOSE.					
PLATY-OPIC (Flat).	107 and under 110	2			
MES-OPIC (Medium)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 110 \text{ and under } 113 \\ 113 \text{ and under } 116 \\ 116 \text{ and under } 119 \\ 119 \text{ and under } 122 \\ 122 \text{ and over} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 \\ 29 \\ 34 \\ 21 \\ 5 \end{array} \right.$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 \\ 21 \\ 29 \\ 21 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 34 \\ 29 \\ 21 \end{array} \right.$
PRO-OPIC (Prominent).					
STATURE.					
Centimetres.					
SHORT	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Under } 155 \\ 5' 1'' \end{array} \right.$	3			
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 155 \text{ and under } 160 \\ 5' 1''-5' 3'' \end{array} \right.$	23			
BELOW MEAN	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 160 \text{ and under } 165 \\ 5' 3''-5' 5'' \end{array} \right.$	33			
ABOVE MEAN	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 165 \text{ and under } 170 \\ 5' 5''-5' 7'' \end{array} \right.$	22			
TALL	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 170 \text{ and under } 175 \\ 5' 7''-5' 9'' \\ 175 \text{ and over} \\ 5' 9'' \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 16 \\ 3 \end{array} \right.$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 16 \\ 3 \end{array} \right.$	



MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 70 \text{ and under } 75 \\ 75 \text{ and under } 80 \\ 80 \text{ and under } 85 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 29 \\ 23 \\ 17 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -23 \\ -17 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 12 \end{array} \right\}$
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 85 \text{ and under } 90 \\ 90 \text{ and over} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 7 \\ 5 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -7 \\ -5 \end{array} \right\}$	
ROOT OF NOSE.					
PLATY-OPIC (Flat).	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Under } 107 \\ 107 \text{ and under } 110 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ 14 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -1 \\ -14 \end{array} \right\}$	
MES-OPIC (Medium).	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 110 \text{ and under } 113 \end{array} \right\}$	30		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -30 \end{array} \right\}$	
PRO-OPIC (Prominent).	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 113 \text{ and under } 116 \\ 116 \text{ and under } 119 \\ 119 \text{ and under } 122 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 35 \\ 15 \\ 5 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -5 \\ -15 \\ -35 \end{array} \right\}$	
STATURE.					
Centimetres.					
SHORT . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Under } 155. \\ 155 \text{ and under } 160 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 \\ 27 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -9 \\ -27 \end{array} \right\}$	
BELOW MEAN . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 160 \text{ and under } 165 \\ 165 \text{ and under } 170 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 21 \\ 33 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -21 \\ -33 \end{array} \right\}$	
ABOVE MEAN . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 170 \text{ and under } 175 \\ 175 \text{ and over} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 8 \\ 2 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -8 \\ -2 \end{array} \right\}$	

MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	{ 70 and under 75 75 and under 80 80 and under 85	11 6 2		19		35
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).	{ 85 and over .	1		3		
ROOT OF NOSE.						
PLATY-OPIC (Flat).	{ 107 and under 110 .	2		6		
MES-OPIC (Medium).	{ 110 and under 113 .	1		3		
PRO-OPIC (Prominent).	{ 113 and under 116 .	4		13		22
	{ 116 and under 119 .	7		16		2
	{ 119 and under 122 .	5		12		
	{ 122 and under 125 .	7		6		
	{ 125 and under 128 .	4				
	{ 128 and over .	2				
STATURE.						
Centimetres.						
SHORT . . .	{ Under 160 . . . 5' 3"	2		6		
BELOW MEAN . . .	{ 160 and under 165 . 5' 3"-5' 5"	7		22		31
	{ 165 and under 170 . 5' 5"-5' 7"	10		16		
	{ 170 and under 175 . 5' 7"-5' 9"	5				
TALL. . .	{ 175 and under 180 . 5' 9"-5' 11"	7		22		
	{ 180 and over . . . 5' 11"	1		3		

BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic).		80 and under 82.5.		2	
NOSE.					
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).		Under 70 .	14	—35	
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).		70 and under 75 .	10	—25	
		75 and under 80 .	12	—30	
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).		85 and under 90 .	3	—8	
		90 and under 95 .	1	—2	
STATURE.					
Centimetres.					
SHORT . . .		Under 155 . . .	3	—7	
		155 and under 160 .	11	—28	
		5' 1" — 5' 3"			
BELOW MEAN . .		160 and under 165 .	12	—30	
		5' 3" — 5' 5"			
ABOVE MEAN . .		165 and under 170 .	11	—28	
		5' 5" — 5' 7"			
TALL . . .		170 and over .	3	—7	
		5' 7"			

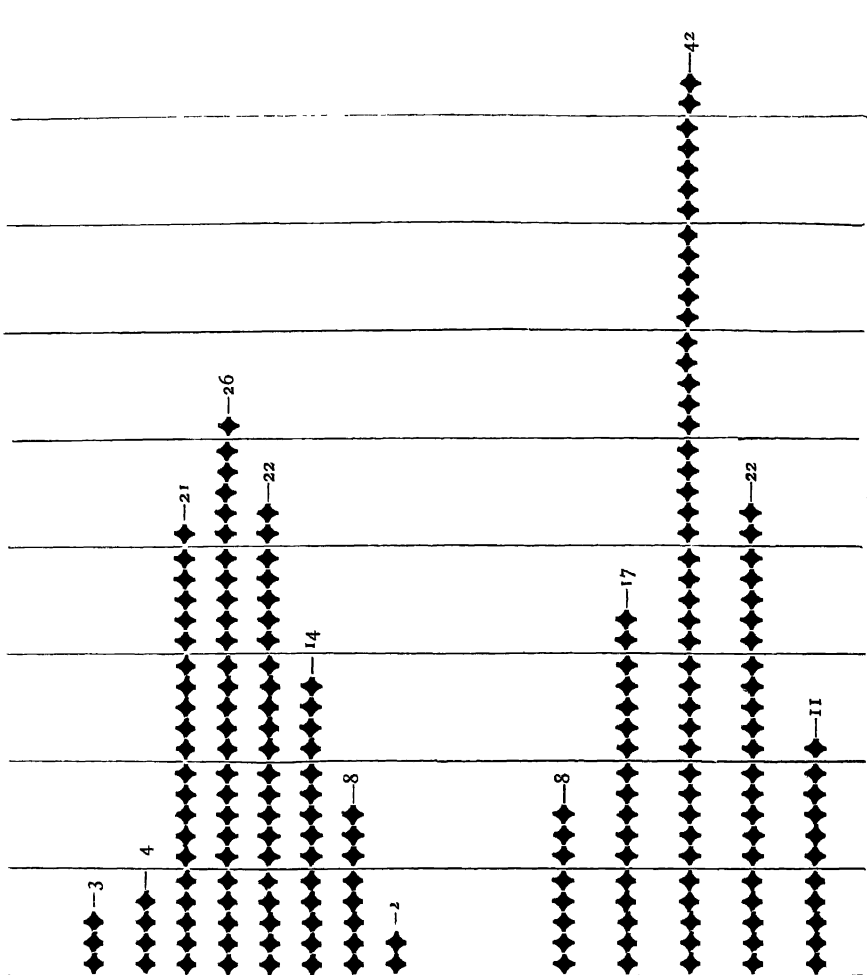
NOSE.											
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).	{ Under 70 .	3	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-7						
	{ 70 and under 75 .	6	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-15					
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	{ 75 and under 80 .	9	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-23				
	{ 80 and under 85 .	11	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-28		
	{ 85 and under 90 .	6	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-15				
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).	{ 90 and under 95 .	2	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-5						
	{ 95 and under 100 .	1	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	2						
	{ 100 and over .	2	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-5						
STATURE											
Centimetres.											
SHORT . . .	{ Under 155 .	2	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-5						
	{ 155 and under 160 .	9	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-23		
BELOW MEAN . .	{ 160 and under 165 .	12	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-30
	{ 165 and under 170 .	14	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-35
TALL . . .	{ 170 and over .	3	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	-7		

**NOSE.**

FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).	{ Under 70 .
	{ 70 and under 75
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	{ 75 and under 80
	{ 80 and under 85
	{ 85 and under 90
	{ 90 and under 95
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).	{ 95 and under 100
	{ 100 and over .

**STATURE.**

Centimetres.	
SHORT . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Under } 155 \\ 5' 1'' \end{array} \right.$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 155 \text{ and under } 160 \\ 5' 1'' - 5' 3'' \end{array} \right.$
BELOW MEAN . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 160 \text{ and under } 165 \\ 5' 3'' - 5' 5'' \end{array} \right.$
ABOVE MEAN . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 165 \text{ and under } 170 \\ 5' 5'' - 5' 7'' \end{array} \right.$
TALL . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 170 \text{ and over} \\ 5' 7'' \end{array} \right.$



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



BROAD HEADS (Brachycephalic).		NOSE.	
80 and over .	2	◆◆—2	
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).			
Under 65	1	◆—1	
65 and under 70	1	◆—1	
70 and under 75	5	◆◆◆◆—5	
75 and under 80	13	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—13	
80 and under 85	19	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—19	
85 and under 90	25	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—25	
90 and under 95	27	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—27	
95 and under 100	3	◆◆◆—3	
100 and over .	6	◆◆◆◆◆—6	
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).			
STATURE.			
Centimetres.			
SHORT . . .	11	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—11	
BELOW MEAN	32	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—32	
ABOVE MEAN .	39	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—39	
TALL . . .	18	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—18	

NOSE.	
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).	<div>60 and under 65 .</div> <div>65 and under 70 .</div> <div>70 and under 75 .</div> <div>75 and under 80 .</div> <div>80 and under 85 .</div> <div>85 and under 90 .</div> <div>90 and over .</div>
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	<div>60 and under 65 .</div> <div>65 and under 70 .</div> <div>70 and under 75 .</div> <div>75 and under 80 .</div> <div>80 and under 85 .</div> <div>85 and under 90 .</div> <div>90 and over .</div>
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).	<div>60 and under 65 .</div> <div>65 and under 70 .</div> <div>70 and under 75 .</div> <div>75 and under 80 .</div> <div>80 and under 85 .</div> <div>85 and under 90 .</div> <div>90 and over .</div>
ROOT OF NOSE.	
PLATY-OPIC (Flat).	<div>Under 101 .</div> <div>101 and under 104 .</div> <div>104 and under 107 .</div> <div>107 and under 110 .</div>
MES-OPIC (Medium).	<div>110 and under 113 .</div> <div>113 and under 116 .</div> <div>116 and over .</div>
PRO-OPIC (Prominent).	<div>113 and under 116 .</div> <div>116 and over .</div>
STATURE.—Centimetres.	
SHORT	<div>Under 155 .</div> <div>155 and under 160 .</div> <div>160 and under 165 .</div> <div>165 and under 170 .</div> <div>170 and over .</div>
BELOW MEAN	<div>Under 155 .</div> <div>155 and under 160 .</div> <div>160 and under 165 .</div> <div>165 and under 170 .</div> <div>170 and over .</div>
ABOVE MEAN	<div>Under 155 .</div> <div>155 and under 160 .</div> <div>160 and under 165 .</div> <div>165 and under 170 .</div> <div>170 and over .</div>
TALL	<div>Under 155 .</div> <div>155 and under 160 .</div> <div>160 and under 165 .</div> <div>165 and under 170 .</div> <div>170 and over .</div>

NOSE.											
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine)	Under 60 .	4	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
	60 and under 65 .	8	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
	65 and under 70 .	19	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
	70 and under 75 .	20	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).	75 and under 80 .	14	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
	80 and under 85 .	2	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine).	85 and over .	1	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
STATURE.											
Centimetres.											
SHORT . . .	Under 155 .	2	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
	155 and under 160 .	8	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
BELOW MEAN.	160 and under 165 .	22	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
	165 and under 170 .	22	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
TALL . . .	170 and under 175 .	12	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
	175 and over .	2	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆

[illegible]

[illegible]

\* Three cases without data have been omitted

## NOSE.

MEDIUM NOSES  
(Mesorhine). { 70 and under 75  
75 and under 80  
80 and under 85

BROAD NOSES  
(Platyrrhine). { 85 and under 90  
90 and under 95  
95 and under 100  
100 and over ...

## ROOT OF NOSE.†

PLATY-OPIC  
(Flat). { 101 and under 104  
104 and under 107  
107 and under 110

MES-OPIC  
(Medium). { 110 and under 113  
113 and under 116

PRO-OPIC  
(Prominent). { 116 and over

## STATURE.

Centimetres.

SHORT . . { under 150 . . .  
4' 11"  
150 and under 155  
4' 11" — 5' 1"

BELOW MEAN. { 155 and under 160  
5' 1" — 5' 3"  
160 and under 165  
5' 3" — 5' 5"

ABOVE MEAN . { 165 and under 170  
5' 5" — 5' 7"  
170 and over .

TAIL . . { 5' 7"

\* 80 Measurements available.

† Only 48 Measurements available

## NOSE.

MEDIUM NOSES  
(Mesorhine).

75 and under 80 {  
80 and under 85 {

85 and under 90 {  
90 and under 95 {  
95 and under 100 {  
100 and over . {

BROAD NOSES  
(Platyrrhine.)

100 and over . {

## STATURE.

Centimetres.

Under 135 .  
135 and under 140  
4' 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ "

140 and under 145 {  
4' 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ "-4' 9"  
145 and under 150 {  
4' 9" 4' 11"

SHORT .

150 and under 155 {  
4' 11" 5' 1"  
155 and under 160 {  
5' 1"-5' 3"

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

## STATURE.

Centimetres.

10 24 14 14 15 1 16 1 5

10 24 14 14 15 1 16 1 5

SHORT .

10 24 14 14 15 1 16 1 5

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

## STATURE.

Centimetres.

10 24 14 14 15 1 16 1 5

10 24 14 14 15 1 16 1 5

SHORT .

10 24 14 14 15 1 16 1 5

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

2 2 5 1 11 8 14 15 7 9 11 15

[illegible]



## SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## INDO-ARYAN TYPE.

PUNJAB AND RAJPUTANA. (In order of Cephalic Index.)

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE.					
				LENGTH (GLABEL-LO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External orbital breadth (average).	Bi-orbito nasal arc (average).	ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.			
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.						Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	
19	Māchhi . .	Punjābī .	Punjāb .	188.4	196	182	136.3	147	127	72.3	76	68	49.8	53	46	34.9	41	31	70.0	82	62	1699	1828	1600	112.1	131.0	116.8	125	110	
120	Rājput . .	Rājasthānī	Rajputānā	192.5	213	180	139.4	151	127	72.4	81	64	51.2	61	43	36.7	44	31	71.6	91	53	1748	1924	1654	108.5	128.0	117.9	129	107	
13	Gujar . .	Punjābī .	Punjāb .	192.6	205	185	139.6	148	133	72.4	78	68	50.3	55	47	33.7	39	31	66.9	78	60	1703	1778	1650	112.7	130.6	115.8	123	111	
27	Arora . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	190.7	206	177	138.6	149	130	72.6	81	67	49.7	54	47	35.4	42	30	71.2	81	60	1658	1803	1574	111.5	129.5	116.1	121	110	
80	Sikh (Jāt) .	Ditto .	Ditto .	190.2	203	172	138.4	152	127	72.7	81	66	50.1	61	45	34.5	41	30	68.8	85	56	1716	1905	1625	113.6	132.5	116.6	125	110	
100	Meo . .	Rājasthānī	Rajputānā	189.5	204	178	138.4	147	126	73.0	81	67	50.4	60	43	38.1	46	32	75.5	92	59	1690	1852	1536	106.4	121.2	113.9	123	107	
100	Mina Zamindār	Ditto .	Ditto .	192.4	207	174	140.6	155	132	73.0	83	67	51.2	59	41	38.1	44	32	74.4	91	61	1713	1850	1606	108.0	124.4	115.1	123	107	
100	Mina Chaukidār	Ditto .	Ditto .	189.9	207	176	139.1	150	130	73.2	81	61	51.0	59	44	37.8	44	32	74.2	96	61	1703	1820	1570	108.5	125.4	115.5	125	107	
80	Chuhra . .	Punjābī .	Punjāb .	186.7	200	171	137.1	152	127	73.4	82	68	48.0	56	45	36.1	45	31	75.2	94	60	1666	1803	1524	112.2	129.4	115.3	123	108	
60	Khatri . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	185.7	200	172	137.5	150	128	74.0	86	66	48.8	58	44	35.7	42	30	73.1	95	59	1662	1803	1574	111.9	126.6	113.1	122	106	
33	Awān . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	188.8	201	175	140.5	147	130	74.4	80	70	50.7	57	44	34.9	39	30	68.8	79	55	1706	1828	1600	113.0	131.3	110.1	125	110	

## SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

MADRAS (DECCAN). (In order of Cephalic Index.)

[E. THURSTON, ESQUIRE.]

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.		
				LENGTH (GLABEL-LO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.			
40	Madiga . . .	Telugu . . .	Bellary . . .	183	200	172	140	154	130	76.5	83.3	68.0	46	51	40	35	39	32	77.5	91.1	66.7	1629	1734	1522
25	Brahman (Desasth).	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	187	202	180	144	152	132	77.0	83.4	71.0	48	54	44	36	42	32	75.8	87.2	66.0	1634	1750	1514
30	Mala . . .	Telugu . . .	Bellary . . .	184	198	168	142	148	134	77.1	85.9	70.3	48	52	44	36	41	34	76.2	93.2	66.7	1639	1750	1538
25	Sadaru Lingayat .	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	182	200	170	141	152	134	77.7	87.0	65.0	48	53	42	35	40	32	73.4	88.9	60.4	1658	1745	1522
25	Komati . . .	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	182	194	170	143	152	133	77.9	88.2	72.2	47	53	43	36	43	32	77.8	100.0	65.3	1610	1683	1532
40	Bidar . . .	Telugu . . .	Bellary . . .	184	200	168	143	152	132	78.1	85.3	70.8	46	48	43	36	40	34	79.4	91.0	65.2	1654	1766	1560
30	Linga Banjigaru .	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	182	194	166	142	150	134	78.3	87.9	73.7	47	52	43	35	38	31	74.6	86.4	61.5	1656	1730	1578
30	Padma Sale . . .	Telugu . . .	Bellary . . .	178	190	165	141	151	132	78.7	86.2	72.8	47	53	41	35	38	32	73.2	83.7	61.5	1599	1714	1538
50	Kuruba . . .	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	181	196	170	142	154	134	78.9	88.4	72.9	47	52	41	35	42	30	74.9	92.2	63.3	1627	1754	1474
30	Jangam (Lingayat)	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	181	196	166	143	152	132	79.1	86.8	70.4	47	52	42	35	38	31	74.5	88.1	64.7	1651	1736	1576
30	Rangari . . .	Mahrathi . . .	Bellary . . .	181	198	168	145	154	138	79.8	92.2	70.7	49	52	46	36	41	33	73.6	84.1	63.5	1613	1684	1544
30	Togata . . .	Telugu . . .	Bellary . . .	177	190	162	142	148	136	80.0	88.1	73.7	47	50	42	36	46	33	77.5	93.9	68.8	1605	1689	1514
20	Ganiga . . .	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	180	191	166	144	152	140	80.5	86.7	74.5	48	53	44	35	38	32	73.7	84.4	62.7	1643	1724	1550
20	Devanga . . .	Canarese . . .	Bellary . . .	180	196	170	145	155	136	80.8	87.1	74.7	47	52	43	35	38	32	74.6	80.9	65.3	1618	1686	1546
30	Suka Sale . . .	Mahrathi . . .	Bellary . . .	177	188	166	145	150	134	81.8	88.2	76.1	47	51	43	35	40	32	74.8	86.1	62.3	1611	1700	1478
30	Sukun Sale . . .	Mahrathi . . .	Bellary . . .	176	190	160	144	154	136	82.2	90.0	73.9	47	52	41	35	38	31	74.8	84.4	61.5	1603	1676	1525

## SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

## BENGAL AND ORISSA (In order of Cephalic Index.)

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE						
				LENGTH (GLABELLO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External orbital breadth (average).	Bi-orbital nasal arc (average).	ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.				
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.						Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.		
				Bengal.																											
100	Kochh (Rajbansi)	Rajbansi	N.-E. Bengal	186.2	202	166	140.2	153	127	75.2	84	68	48.9	57	44	37.5	45	32	76.6	92	61	1,607	1,746	1,440	103.7	115.0	110.8	121	104		
88*	Kochh (Rajbansi)	Do.	Do.	181.0	202	165	139.0	152	131	76.7	87	71	45.0	52	37	36.0	49	30	80.0	109	67	1,591	1,695	1,502	100.0	110.0	110.0	121	93		
99	Bagdi	Bengali	Bengal	182.7	201	172	139.5	153	130	76.3	83	68	46.7	55	39	37.6	45	30	80.5	100	62	1,603	1,722	1,434	106.0	119.0	112.2	118	106		
12	Mal	Do.	Western Bengal	183.0	191	166	141.3	146	135	77.2	88	71	47.2	50	42	40.0	46	33	84.7	100	70	1,622	1,730	1,520	..	..	..	..	..		
41	Goala	Do.	Eastern Bengal	183.8	198	170	142.1	153	131	77.3	86	71	49.0	58	43	36.4	40	31	74.2	87	62	1,646	1,746	1,500	..	..	..	..	..		
100	Kaibarta	Do.	Do.	182.3	198	166	141.1	152	129	77.3	87	70	48.0	55	37	36.6	43	32	76.2	103	63	1,629	1,770	1,490	..	..	..	..	..		
48	Sadgop	Do.	Bengal, 24-Parganas	182.6	190	168	142.1	150	132	77.6	87	72	49.6	55	42	36.7	49	30	73.9	98	55	1,633	1,780	1,510	..	..	..	..	..		
27	Muchi	Do.	Eastern Bengal	182.9	198	170	142.0	151	133	77.6	86	72	49.4	54	42	36.8	43	32	74.9	88	63	1,641	1,742	1,536	..	..	..	..	..		
100	Pod	Do.	Bengal, 24-Parganas	183.2	198	172	142.4	155	130	77.7	85	70	49.1	56	41	37.4	43	32	76.1	91	63	1,625	1,850	1,490	99.6	111.1	111.5	118	104		
185	Muhammadan	Do.	Eastern Bengal	182.8	199	168	142.7	156	131	78.0	89	70	49.4	58	40	38.3	45	32	77.5	96	64	1,634	1,760	1,500	113.2	128.6	113.6	121	106		
67	Chandal	Do.	Do.	183.2	201	166	143.1	151	131	78.1	89	70	49.6	56	43	36.7	42	30	73.9	89	62	1,619	1,734	1,472	112.3	128.1	114.0	121	106		
100	Kayastha	Do.	Bengal	182.4	195	169	142.8	155	129	78.2	88	70	50.2	58	42	35.3	41	29	70.3	89	56	1,636	1,810	1,544	..	..	..	..	..		
32	Brahman	Do.	Western Bengal	182.2	195	171	142.6	151	135	78.2	87	72	48.5	54	40	34.9	40	29	71.9	100	58	1,670	1,734	1,550	..	..	..	..	..		
68	Brahman	Do.	Eastern Bengal	181.5	195	170	143.4	151	134	79.0	88	70	49.9	59	36	35.1	42	28	70.3	85	56	1,653	1,792	1,474	..	..	..	..	..		
20	Rajbansi Magh	Magh	Chittagong	178.6	192	166	148.4	157	140	83.0	94	74	51.0	57	43	38.2	46	33	74.9	88	63	1,645	1,750	1,542	106.6	118.3	110.9	115	105		
				Orissa.																											
43	Karan	Oriya	Puri	186.1	197	174	142.0	152	130	76.2	84	68	47.7	55	39	38.8	44	32	81.3	100	66	1,638	1,792	1,486	109.8	127.7	116.3	126	102		
26	Niari	Do.	Cuttack	185.0	193	170	141.5	151	131	76.4	87	70	46.8	53	39	37.7	42	32	80.5	100	70	1,611	1,756	1,469	107.9	122.8	113.8	120	107		
45	Teli	Do.	Puri	184.0	196	166	140.8	150	129	75.6	83	71	47.1	56	39	36.5	42	31	77.4	95	65	1,619	1,794	1,500	107.8	124.8	115.7	123	108		
59	Chasa	Do.	Cuttack	183.9	196	169	141.9	151	129	77.1	84	70	47.5	53	41	37.7	42	33	79.3	95	67	1,615	1,752	1,450	108.2	123.5	111.4	121	109		
52	Shashan Brahman	Do.	Puri	182.9	195	171	141.2	155	128	77.1	90	67	48.4	57	41	37.2	47	32	76.8	93	59	1,635	1,748	1,498	109.2	127.4	116.6	123	110		
38	Kewat	Do.	Cuttack	183.4	198	173	141.9	157	131	77.3	86	71	47.0	59	40	38.7	45	34	82.3	98	66	1,611	1,716	1,500	108.3	123.7	114.2	121	109		
40	Khandait	Do.	Do.	183.6	197	171	142.0	153	133	77.3	84	69	48.0	55	40	37.8	44	33	78.7	98	67	1,645	1,728	1,529	109.5	126.9	115.8	123	108		
40	Bauri	Do.	Do.	180.4	193	165	139.6	149	130	77.3	86	70	45.5	56	38	38.3	44	33	85.1	113	68	1,585	1,686	1,476	110.3	124.2	112.6	117	104		
40	Mastan Brahman	Do.	Puri	183.8	197	169	142.7	154	132	77.6	86	69	47.9	55	40	38.0	48	31	79.3	100	63	1,642	1,755	1,468	110.6	129.5	117.0	120	112		
40	Pan	Do.	Cuttack	182.2	193	161	141.5	154	130	77.6	90	68	46.6	54	39	38.3	45	33	82.1	100	66	1,607	1,748	1,462	110.0	124.1	112.8	119	107		
41	Gaura	Do.	Do.	182.8	198	166	142.1	151	130	77.7	90	70	48.4	55	42	37.2	43	27	76.8	96	60	1,627	1,748	1,510	110.3	126.0	114.2	122	108		
41	Panda Brahman	Do.	Puri	183.3	195	171	142.7	152	132	77.8	88	70	47.9	55	41	37.1	44	32	77.4	100	66	1,642	1,750	1,558	109.5	126.9	115.8	124	107		
41	Kandra	Do.	Cuttack	182.6	198	168	143.3	157	133	78.4	88	69	47.6	54	40	37.9	42	33	79.6	100	70	1,625	1,722	1,506	111.7	127.8	114.4	121	110		
40	Guria	Do.	Puri	182.9	204	163	143.5	167	135	78.4	93	69	47.0	55	41	37.3	45	31	79.3	93	63	1,606	1,724	1,476	108.9	125.6	115.3	122	107		

# APPENDIX V.

## INFANT MARRIAGE LAWS, MYSORE AND BARODA

### REGULATION No. X OF 1894.

(PASSED ON THE 5TH DAY OF OCTOBER 1894)

#### *A Regulation to Prevent Infant Marriages in the Territories of Mysore.*

WHEREAS it is expedient to prevent Infant Marriages in the Territories of Mysore. His Highness the Maharajah is pleased to enact  
**Preamble.** as follows:—

**Short title** 1. This Regulation may be called “The Mysore Infant Marriages Prevention Regulation”

(2) It shall extend to the whole of the Territories of Mysore, but it shall apply only to marriages among the Hindus. It shall come into operation at the expiration of six months from the date of its publication in the official Gazette.  
**Extent and commencement.**

**Definition.** 2. For the purposes of this Regulation, an “Infant Girl” means a girl who has not completed eight years of age.

3. Any person who causes the marriage of an infant girl, or who knowingly aids and abets within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code such a marriage, and any man who having completed eighteen years of age marries an infant girl, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.  
**Punishment for aiding or abetting infant marriages.**

4. Any man who having completed fifty years of age marries a girl who has not completed fourteen years of age, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.  
**Punishment for a man more than fifty years of age marrying a girl under fourteen years of age.**

5. Any person who causes the marriage of a girl who has not completed fourteen years of age, with a man who has completed fifty years of age, and any person who knowingly aids and abets, within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, such a marriage, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.  
**Punishment for abetment of offence provided against in section 4.**

*Explanation.*—There is no objection to a joint petition being submitted by both parties in cases in which the girl and the boy are both minors.

**value of stamp** 5 The petitions alluded to in the preceding Section  
**the application** must be written on a (Court-fee) stamped paper of Rs 2.

**iculars to be em-** 6. The petition mentioned in Section 4 must contain  
**ed in the petition.** the following particulars —

- (a) the names, age, and caste of the bride and the bridegroom ;
- (b) the names of their father or guardian ;
- (c) the date and place of the marriage, and
- (d) the mention, in full, of the difficulties likely to crop up in case the marriage does not take place.

**cedure to be** 7. The Nyayadhish, on receipt of the application, shall  
**wed on receipt** take steps as under —  
**ie application.**

- (a) he shall fix a date, within the period of 15 days, for the hearing of the petition ;
  - (b) shall appoint three gentlemen of the petitioner's caste, as assessors; and
  - (c) shall issue summonses for their appearance in the Court, on the appointed date
- 8 On the date of hearing, the Nyayadhish, assisted by the assessors, shall enquire into the petition, recording all such evidence as may be produced in its support, and shall dispose of the same by the end of the day.

**quiries in con-** enquire into the petition, recording all such evidence as  
**ion with the** may be produced in its support, and shall dispose of the  
**ication.** same by the end of the day.

- (2) If the Nyayadhish and all the assessors present or any two of them be satisfied that in the event of the marriage not taking place on the appointed date,
- (a) there is no probability of its celebration within one year after the bride or the bridegroom comes to age or that it will not take place at all, or
- (b) it is likely that the parents or the guardian of the girl whose marriage is to be celebrated by them will not, owing to old age or infirmity, survive till she comes to age, and there is none else fit to take care of her besides them, or
- (c) that unavoidable difficulties of a like nature are likely to crop up, the Nyayadhish shall grant written permission for the celebration of the marriage under his own seal and signature in accordance with the form laid down in the first schedule annexed to this Act.

*Explanation.*—The permission to be granted for reasons mentioned in sections (b) and (c) should only be granted if the girl's age is above nine s.

- (3) If permission for the celebration of an early marriage of a girl whose betrothal has taken place before this Act comes into force, be asked within three months after the passing thereof, the Nyayadhish should grant the necessary permission after satisfying himself only that the betrothal has taken place before this Act came into force.

of Criminal Procedure. The case however should not be handed over to the Police for investigations under Section 56 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(5) At the termination of the enquiries (sub-section 4) if any punishment be awarded, the same shall be communicated (as per Schedule No. 4) to the Suba within eight days.

15 The father or the guardian of the bride shall report the marriage to the officials concerned within eight days after its celebration and shall obtain from them particulars, as per the Schedule No. 5

**All marriages must be reported.**

16. If the father or the guardian of the bride fails to give the information about the marriage as required by the preceding section, or gives false information in connection with the same, he shall be punished with a fine which may not exceed Rs 10

**Punishment for not getting the marriages registered**

**Responsibilities in connection with the registration of marriage**

17. The responsibilities for the proper registration of marriages, as laid down in Section 14, shall rest with the Wahivatdar of the Mahal.

**The marriage cannot be set aside.**

18. An early marriage, if once celebrated, cannot be set aside.

has this class of nobles and chieftains sought to ally itself with that of the priests or sacerdotal order ; and everywhere has the priestly order sought to bring under its control those chiefs and rulers under whose protection it lives. All these classes, then, had been in existence for centuries before any such thing as caste was known on Indian soil ; and the only thing that was needed to convert them into castes, such as they now are, was that the Brahman, who possessed the highest of all functions—the priestly—should set the example. This he did by establishing for the first time the rule that no child, either male or female, could inherit the name and status of Brāhman, unless he or she was of Brāhman parentage on *both* sides. By the establishment of this rule the principle of marriage unionship was superadded to that of functional unionship ; and it was only by the combination of these two principles that a caste in the strict sense of the term could or can be formed. The Brāhman therefore, as the Hindu books inform us, was “the first-born of castes.” When the example had thus been set by an arrogant and overbearing priesthood, whose pretensions it was impossible to put down, the other hereditary classes followed in regular order downwards, partly in imitation and partly in self-defence. To a nation mesmerised by Brāhmans and blinded with superstition and ignorance no other course was open. Immediately behind the Brāhman came the Kshatriya, the military chieftain or landlord. He therefore was the “second-born of castes.” Then followed the bankers or upper trading classes (the Agarwāl, Khattri, etc.) ; the scientific musician and singer (Kathak) ; the writing or literary class (Kayasth) ; the bard or genealogist (Bhāt) ; and the class of inferior nobles (Taga and Bhunhar) who paid no rent to the landed aristocracy. These, then, were the third-born of castes. In all communities, such classes must stand rather high in the scale of social respectability, since the stages of industry or function which they represent are high in proportion ; but in India their rank was more precisely defined than elsewhere by the fact that they made a nearer approach than the castes below them to the Brāhmanical ideal of personal dignity and purity. Next in order came those artisan classes, who were coeval with the age and art of metallurgy ; the metallurgic classes themselves ; the middle trading classes ; the middle agricultural classes, who placed themselves under the protection of the Kshatriya and paid him rent in return (Kurmi, Kachhi, Māli, Tāmboli) ; and the middle serving classes, such as Nāpit and Baidya, who attended to the bodily wants of their equals and superiors. These, then, were the fourth-born of castes ; and their rank in the social scale has been determined by the fact that their manners and notions are further removed than those of the preceding castes from the Brāhmanical ideal. Next came the inferior artisan classes, those which preceded the age and art of metallurgy (Teli, Kumhar, Kalwar, etc.) ; the partly nomad and partly agricultural classes (Jāt, Gujar, Ahir, etc.) ; the inferior serving classes, such as Kahār ; and the inferior trading classes, such as Bhunja. These, then, were the fifth-born of castes, and their mode of life is still further removed from the Brāhmanical ideal than that of the preceding. The last born, and therefore the lowest, of all the classes are those semi-savage communities, partly tribes and partly castes, whose function consists in hunting or fishing, or in acting as butcher for the general community, or in rearing swine and fowls, or in discharging the meanest domestic services, such as sweeping and washing, or in practising the lowest of human arts, such as basket-making, hide-tanning, etc. Thus throughout the whole series of Indian castes a double test of social

An old agnostic is said to have summed up his philosophy in the following words.—“The only thing I know is that I know nothing ; and I am not quite sure that I know that” His words express very exactly my own feelings regarding caste in the Punjab

My experience is that it is almost impossible to make any statement whatever regarding any one of the castes we have to deal with, absolutely true as it may be as regards one part of the Province, which shall not presently be contradicted with equal truth as regards the same people in some other district. Yet I shall attempt to set forth briefly what seem to me the fundamental ideas upon which caste is based , and in doing so I shall attempt partly to explain why it is that the institution is so extraordinarily unstable, and its phenomena so diverse in different localities. What I propound in the following paragraphs is simply my working hypothesis as it at present stands ; but I shall not stop to say so as I write, though almost every proposition made must be taken subject to limitations, often sufficiently obvious, and not unfrequently involved in some other proposition made in the very next paragraph. My views are of little weight so long as they are not illustrated and supported by instances drawn from actually existing fact. Such instances I have in great abundance, and they will be found in part in the detailed description of castes which follow this discussion. But I have leisure neither to record all my evidence, nor to marshal what I have recorded ; and I give my conception of caste with a crudeness of exposition which lack of time forbids me to modify, not because I think that it is anything even distantly approaching to the whole truth, but because I believe that it is nearer to that truth than is the generally received theory of caste as I understand it.

The popular and currently received theory of caste I take to consist of three main articles :—

- (1) that caste is an institution of the Hindu religion, and wholly peculiar to that religion alone ;
- (2) that it consists primarily of a fourfold classification of people in general under the heads of Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra ;
- (3) that caste is perpetual and immutable, and has been transmitted from generation to generation throughout the ages of Hindu history and myth without the possibility of change.



like the socialist's dream of equal division of wealth, cease to exist from the very instant of its birth. And from the moment when the hereditary nature of occupation ceases to be invariable and inviolable, the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation become antagonistic. The antagonism still continues. In every community which the world has ever seen there have been grades of position and distinctions of rank; and in all societies these grades and distinctions are governed by two considerations, descent and calling. As civilization advances and the ideas of the community expand in more liberal growth, the latter is ever gaining in importance at the expense of the former, the question what a man is, is ever more and more taking precedence of the question what his father was. But in no society that the world has yet seen has either of these two considerations ever wholly ceased to operate; in no community has the son of the coal-heaver been born the equal of the son of the nobleman, or the man who dies a trader been held in the same consideration as he who dies a statesman; while in all the son has begun where the father left off. The communities of India in whose midst the Hindu religion has been developed are no exceptions to this rule; but in their case special circumstances have combined to preserve in greater integrity and to perpetuate under a more advanced state of society than elsewhere the hereditary nature of occupation, and thus in a higher degree than in other modern nations to render identical the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation. And it is this difference, a difference of degree rather than of kind, a survival to a later age of an institution which has died out elsewhere rather than a new growth peculiar to the Hindu nation, which makes us give a new name to the old thing and call caste in India what we call position or rank in England.

The whole basis of diversity of caste is diversity of occupation. The old division into Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, and the Mlechchha or outcast, who is below the Sudra, is but a division into the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, the artisan, and the menial; and the more modern development which substituted trader for husbandman as the meaning of Vaisya or "the people" did not alter the nature of the classification. William Priest, John King, Edward Farmer, and James Smith are but the survivals in England of the four *varnas* of Manu. But in India, which was priest-ridden to an extent unknown to the experience of Europe even in the middle ages, the dominance of one special occupation gave abnormal importance to all distinctions of occupation. The Brāhman who could at first claim no separate descent by which he should be singled out from among the Aryan community, sought to exalt his office and to propitiate his political rulers, who were the only rivals he had to fear, by degrading all other occupations and conditions of life. Further, as explained in the sections just referred to, the principle of hereditary occupation was to him as a class one of the most vital importance. As the Brāhmins increased in number, those numbers necessarily exceeded the possible requirements of the laity so far as the mere performance of priestly functions was concerned, while it became impossible for them to keep up as a whole even the semblance of sacred learning. Thus they ceased to be wholly priests, and a large proportion of them became mere Levites. The only means of preserving its overwhelming influence to the body at large was to substitute Levitical descent for priestly functions as the basis of that influence, or rather perhaps to check the natural course of social evolution which

**Occupation the primary basis of caste.**

found to possess no inconsiderable weight ; while the very fact of the general currency of a set of traditions, groundless as they may be in individual instances, shows that the theory of society upon which they are based is at least not repugnant to the ideas and feelings and even practice of the people who believe them. Indeed, for the purposes of the present enquiry it would almost be allowable to accept traditional origin ; for though the tradition may not be true, it might have been, or it would never have arisen. Instances of fall in the social scale are naturally more often met with than instances of rise, for he who has sunk recalls with pride his ancestral origin, while he who has risen hastens to forget it.

But before proceeding to give specific instances of recent change of caste, I

**The political and artificial basis of caste.** must adopt a somewhat extended definition of occupation, and must take a somewhat wider basis than that afforded by mere occupation, even so defined, as the foundation of caste

In India the occupation of the great mass of what may be called the upper or yeoman classes is the same. Setting aside the priests and traders on the one hand and the artisans and menials on the other, we have left the great body of agriculturists who constitute by far the larger portion of the population. This great body of people subsists by husbandry and cattle-farming, and so far their occupation is one and the same. But they are also the owners and occupiers of the land, the holders of more or less compact tribal territories ; they are overlords as well as villains ; and hence springs the cardinal distinction between the occupation of ruling and the occupation of being ruled. Where the actual calling of every-day life is the same, social standing, which is all that caste means, depends very largely upon political importance, whether present or belonging to the recent past. There is the widest distinction between the dominant and the subject tribes ; and a tribe which has acquired political independence in one part of the country, will there enjoy a position in the ranks of caste which is denied it in tracts where it occupies a subordinate position.

Again, the features of the caste system which are peculiar to Brāhmanical Hinduism, and which have already been alluded to, have operated to create a curiously artificial standard of social rank. There are certain rules which must be observed by all at the risk of sinking in the scale. They are, broadly speaking, that widow-marriage shall not be practised, that marriages shall be contracted only with those of equal or nearly equal standing ; that certain occupations shall be abstained from which are arbitrarily declared to be impure, such as growing or selling vegetables, handicrafts in general, and especially working or trading in leather and weaving ; that impure food shall be avoided : and that no communion shall be held with outcasts, such as scavengers, eaters of carrion or vermin, and the like. There are other and similarly artificial considerations which affect social standing, such as the practice of secluding the women of the family, the custom of giving daughters in marriage only to classes higher than their own, and the like ; but these are of less general application than those first mentioned. Many of these restrictions are exceedingly irksome. It is expensive to keep the women secluded, for others have to be paid to do their work ; it is still more expensive to purchase husbands for them from a higher grade of society, and so forth ; and so there is constant temptation to disregard these rules, even at the cost of some loss of social position.

in the subsequent parts of this Chapter, in the paragraphs on the Jāt in general, on the Rājputs of the Eastern Hills, and on the Thakar and Rāthi. I there point out that the only possible definition of a Rājput, in the Punjab at least, is he who, being the descendant of a family that has enjoyed political importance, has preserved his ancestral status by strict observance of the caste rules enumerated above. The extract there quoted from Mr. Lyall's report sums up so admirably the state of caste distinctions in the hills that I make no apology for repeating it. He says :—

Till lately the limits of caste do not seem to have been so immutably fixed in the hills as in the plains. The Raja was the fountain of honour, and could do much as he liked. I have heard old men quote instances within their memory in which a Raja promoted a Girth to be a Rāthi, and a Thākur to be a Rājput, for service done or money given; and at the present day the power of admitting back into caste-fellowship persons put under a ban for some grave act of defilement is a source of income to the Jagirdar Rajas.

I believe that Mr. Campbell, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has asserted that there is no such thing as a distinct Rājput stock; that in former times, before caste distinctions had become crystallized, any tribe or family whose ancestor or head rose to royal rank became in time Rājput.

This is certainly the conclusion to which many facts point with regard to the Rājputs of these hills. Two of the old royal and now essentially Rājput families of this district, *viz.*, Kotlehr and Bangahal, are said to be Brāhman by original stock. Mr. Barnes says that in Kangra the son of a Rājput by a low-caste woman takes place as a Rāthi; in Seoraj and other places in the interior of the hills I have met families calling themselves Rājputs, and growing into general acceptance as Rājputs, in their own country at least, whose only claim to the title was that their father or grandfather was the offspring of a Kānetri by a foreign Brāhman. On the border line in the Himalayas, between Tibet and India Proper, any one can observe caste growing before his eyes, the noble is changing into a Rājput, the priest into a Brāhman, the peasant into a Jāt; and so on down to the bottom of the scale. The same process was, I believe, more or less in course in Kangra proper down to a period not very remote from to-day.

And Kangra is of all parts of the Punjab the place in which the proudest and most ancient Rājput blood is to be found. As Captain Cunningham says in his *History of the Sikhs*: "It may be assumed as certain that, had the conquering Moghals and Pathans been without a vivid belief and an organised priesthood, they would have adopted Vedism and become enrolled among the Kshatriya or Rājput races." In Sirsa we have instances of clans who were a few generations ago accounted Jāt being now generally classed as Rājputs, having meanwhile practised greater exclusiveness in matrimonial matters, and having abandoned widow-marriage; while the reverse process is no less common. So the Chauhans of Delhi are no longer recognised as Rājputs since they have begun to marry their widows. Finally, we have the whole traditions of the Punjab tribes of the Jāt and Gujar status to the effect that they are descended from Rājputs who married below them, ceased to seclude their women, or began to practise widow-marriage; and the fact that one and the same tribe is often known as Rājput, where it has, and as Jāt where it has not, risen to political importance.

But it is possible for Rājputs and Jāts to fall still lower. The Sahnsars of Hushyarpur were admittedly Rājputs till only a few generations ago, when they took to growing vegetables, and now rank with Arains. Some of the Tarkhāns, Lohars, and Nais of Sirsa are known to have been Jāts or Rājputs, who within quite recent times have taken to the hereditary occupations of these castes; and some of the Chauhans of Karnal, whose fathers were born Rājputs, have taken to

social intercourse between castes of different rank render it infinitely difficult to rise in the scale. So, too, the classification being hereditary, it is next to impossible for the individual himself to rise ; it is the tribe or section of the tribe that alone can improve its position, and this it can do only after the lapse of several generations, during which time it must abandon a lower for a higher occupation, conform more strictly with the arbitrary rules, affect social exclusiveness or special sanctity, or separate itself after some similar fashion from the body of the caste to which it belongs. The whole theory of society is that occupation and caste are hereditary ; and the presumption that caste passes unchanged to the descendants is exceedingly strong. But the presumption is one which can be defeated, and has already been and is now in process of being defeated in numberless instances. As in all other countries and among all other nations, the graduations of the social scale are fixed ; but society is not solid but liquid, and portions of it are continually rising and sinking and changing their position as measured by that scale ; and the only real difference between Indian society and that of other countries in this respect is that the liquid is much more viscous, the friction and inertia to be overcome infinitely greater, and the movement therefore far slower and more difficult in the former than in the latter. This friction and inertia are largely due to a set of artificial rules which have been grafted on to the social prejudices common to all communities by the peculiar form which caste has taken in the Brāhmanical teachings. But there is every sign that these rules are gradually relaxing. Sikhism did much to weaken them in the centre of the Punjab, while they can now hardly be said to exist on the purely Mahomedan frontier ; and I think that we shall see a still more rapid change under the influences which our rule has brought to bear upon the society of the Province. Our disregard for inherited distinctions have already done something, and the introduction of railways much more, to loosen the bonds of caste. It is extraordinary how incessantly, in reporting customs, my correspondents note that the custom or restriction is fast dying out. The liberty enjoyed by the people of the Western Punjab is extending to their neighbours in the east, and especially the old tribal customs are gradually fading away. There cannot be the slightest doubt that in a few generations the materials for a study of caste as an institution will be infinitely less complete than they are even now.

Thus, if my theory be correct, we have the following steps in the process by which caste has been evolved in the Punjab—(1) the tribal divisions common to all primitive societies ; (2) the guilds based upon hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities ; (3) the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries ; (4) the exaltation of the Levitical blood by a special insistence upon the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation ; (5) the preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to this the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic and burdensome from a material point of view ; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India.

leur autonomie et sous leurs lois corporatives. Des notions religieuses dominaient dès l'origine toute la vie ; le sacerdoce déjà puissant double ici le prestige et la rigueur des scrupules religieux

Les âryens s'avancent dans leur nouveau domaine. Ils se heurtent à une race de couleur foncée, inférieure en culture, qu'ils refoulent. Cette opposition, le souci de leur sécurité, le dédain des vaincus, exaltent chez les vainqueurs l'exclusivisme natif, renforcent toutes les croyances et tous les préjugés qui protègent la pureté des sectionnements entre lesquels ils se répartissent. La population autochtone est rejetée dans une masse confuse que des liens de subordination assez lâches rattachent seuls à ses maîtres. Les idées religieuses qu'apportent les envahisseurs y descendent plus ou moins avant, jamais assez pour la relever à leur niveau. Cependant, en s'étendant sur de vastes espaces où leurs établissements ne sont guère cantonnés par aucunes limites naturelles, les envahisseurs se dispersent ; ébranlés par les accidents de la lutte, les groupements primitifs se disjoignent. La rigueur du principe généalogique qui les unissait en est compromise. Les tronçons, pour se reformer, obéissent aux rapprochements géographiques ou à d'autres convenances.

Peu à peu se sont imposées les nécessités d'une existence moins mouvante. C'est dans des villages d'industrie pastorale et agricole que se fixe la vie devenue plus sédentaire ; et c'est d'abord par parentés qu'ils se fondent ; car les lois de la famille et du clan conservent une autorité souveraine ; on continue d'observer les usages traditionnels que sanctionne la religion. Les habitudes plus fixes développent les besoins et les métiers d'une civilisation qui est mûre pour plus d'exigences. Les corps d'état sont à leur tour enveloppés dans le réseau, soit que la communauté de village entraîne la communauté d'occupation, soit que les représentants dispersés d'une même profession dans des lieux assez voisins obéissent à une nécessité impérieuse en se modelant sur le seul type d'organisation usité autour d'eux.

Avec le temps deux faits se sont accusés : des mélanges plus ou moins avoués se sont produits entre les races ; les notions âryennes de pureté ont fait leur chemin dans cette population hybride et jusque dans les populations purement aborigènes. De là deux ordres de scrupules qui multiplient les sectionnements, suivant l'impureté plus ou moins forte, soit de la descendance, soit des occupations. Si les principes anciens de la vie familiale se perpétuent, les facteurs de groupements se diversifient : fonction, religion, voisinage, d'autres encore, à côté du principe primitif de la consanguinité dont ils prennent plus ou moins le masque. Les groupes s'accroissent et s'entre-croisent. Sous la double action de leurs traditions propres et des idées qu'elles empruntent à la civilisation âryenne, les tribus aborigènes elles-mêmes, au fur et à mesure qu'elles renoncent à une vie isolée et sauvage, accélèrent l'afflux des sectionnements nouveaux. La caste existe dès lors. On voit comment elle s'est, dans ses diverses dégradations, substituée lentement au régime familial dont elle est l'héritière.

Un pouvoir politique eût pu subordonner ces organismes aux ressorts d'un système régulier. Nulle constitution politique ne se dégage. L'idée même n'en naît pas. Comment s'en étonner ? La puissance sacerdotale n'y peut être favorable, car elle en serait diminuée ; ou son action est très forte et très soutenue ; elle paralyse même dans l'aristocratie militaire l'exercice du pouvoir. Le relief du pays ne constitue pas de noyaux naturels de concentration ; toute limite est ici flottante. La vie pastorale a longtemps maintenu un esprit de tradition sévère ; aucun goût vif de l'action ne l'entame. La population vaincue est nombreuse ; refoulée plus qu'absorbée, elle est

tiré de leur propre fonds les éléments essentiels de la caste, telle qu'ils l'ont pratiquée, conçue et finalement coordonnée. Si le régime sous lequel l'Inde a vécu n'est ni une organisation purement économique des métiers, ni un chaos barbare des tribus et des races étrangères et hostiles, ni une simple hiérarchie des classes, mais un mélange de tout cela, unifiée par l'inspiration commune qui domine, dans leur fonctionnement, tous les groupes, par la communauté des idées et des préjugés caractéristiques qui les rapprochent, les divisent, fixent entre eux les préséances, cela vient de ce que la constitution familiale, survivant à travers toutes les évolutions, gouvernant les âryens d'abord, puis pénétrant avec leur influence et s'imposant même aux groupements d'origine indépendante, a été le pivot d'une lente transformation.

Qu'elle ait été traversée d'éléments hétérogènes, je n'ai garde de l'oublier. D'ailleurs une fois achevée dans ses traits essentiels, elle a, cela va sans dire, comme tous les systèmes vieillissants où la tradition ne se retrempe plus dans une conscience vivante des origines, subi l'action de l'analogie. Les principes qu'on a cru y découvrir, l'arbitraire même, armé de faux prétextes y ont fait leur œuvre. Pour être accidentelles ou secondaires, ces altérations n'ont pas laissé que de jeter quelque désarroi dans la physionomie des faits. Je n'y insiste pas cependant. On en retrouvera au besoin les sources dans les détails que j'ai eu l'occasion de signaler en passant.

Même à nous enfermer dans la période de formation, combien nous souhaiterions de fixer des dates ! Ce que j'ai dit de la tradition littéraire expliquera que je n'en aie pas des précises à offrir. Des institutions anciennes ne s'imprègnent que par progressions insensibles d'un esprit nouveau, des mouvements qui peuvent, suivant les circonstances, marcher d'un pas inégal dans des régions diverses, ne se manifestent dans les témoignages que lorsque l'ordre antérieur est devenu tout à fait méconnaissable. Ils sont obscurs parce qu'ils sont lents. Ils ne supportent pas de dates rigoureuses. Tout au plus pourrait-on se flatter de déterminer à quel moment le système brâhmanique, qui régit théoriquement la caste, a reçu sa forme dernière. La prétention serait encore trop ambitieuse. Nous pouvons nous en consoler ; nous n'en serions pas beaucoup plus avancés, s'il est vrai que ce système résume l'idéal de la caste dominante plus qu'il ne reflète la situation vraie.

Même en ce qui concerne le Vêda, la valeur des indices qu'il apporte n'est rien moins que définie. Il faudrait savoir s'il épuise bien l'ensemble des faits contemporains, s'il les rend intégralement et fidèlement. C'est ce dont je n'estime pas du tout que nous soyons certains. Ce qui est sûr c'est qu'on y voit saillir encore en un plein relief cette hiérarchie de classes qui s'est plus tard résolue dans le régime des castes. Il est pourtant indubitable que, dès la période védique, les causes avaient commencé d'agir qui, par leur action combinée et suivie, devaient sur le vieux tronc âryen greffer un ordre nouveau.

Les âryens de l'Inde et les âryens du monde classique partent des mêmes prémisses. Combien les conséquences sont de part et d'autre différentes !

A l'origine, les mêmes groupes, gouvernés par les mêmes croyances, les mêmes usages. En Grèce et en Italie, ces petites sociétés s'associent et s'organisent. Elles s'étagent en un système ordonné. Chaque groupe conserve dans sa sphère d'action sa pleine autonomie ; mais la fédération supérieure que constitue la cité embrasse les intérêts communs et régularise l'action commune. Le chaos prend forme sous la main des Grecs. Les organismes disjoints se soudent en une unité

## APPENDIX VII.

### SIR HENRY COTTON AND OTHERS ON KULIN POLYGAMY

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES"

\* \* \* \* \*

SIR,—More important still, though perhaps not so intentionally offensive, is the review in your *Literary Supplement* of Mr Oman's book on 'The Brahmans, Theists, and Muslims of India' I have not yet seen this book, but my impression of it derived from a review by Sir Alfred Lyall in the *Nation* is very different from that put forward by your reviewer I cannot believe that Mr Oman's work is a mere *réchauffé* of the onslaught on Hinduism which was elaborated by Mr. James Mill and by the missionary Ward at the beginning of the last century. That is the impression your review conveys and your leading article repeats in stronger language Mill's, Ward's, and Wilford's attacks on Hinduism were replied to at the time they were made, but, whatever truth they may have then contained, every one who knows anything of the subject is aware that the abominations to which you refer, and especially the privileges of the Kulin Brahmans, 'including the most outrageous and degrading form of polygamy,' have no existence at the present day. You go so far as to say that 'it is a notable fact that the spread of enlightenment as we conceive it among educated Hindus has not been accompanied by any serious attempt to do away with social anomalies such as child marriages, the seclusion of child widows, or the abominations practised by the Kulin Brahmans.' I reply that the very contrary is the fact So-called child marriages among the educated classes are now of the rarest occurrence, and polygamy among Kulin Brahmans is absolutely non-existent. My personal experience extends over a period of 40 years, and I never heard of a case of Kulin polygamy. The practice had died out before I went to India. I do not know whether Mr. Oman says it still exists. I doubt whether he has any personal knowledge of Bengal, and in any case I deprecate in the strongest possible manner the tone and character of the observations in your leading article on this subject, which are apparently based on Mr. Oman's book.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

DIEPPE, *September 14th*, 1907.

HENRY COTTON.

SIR,—While I desire to avoid even the appearance of controversy on matters capable of argument, I would ask permission to correct one serious misapprehension on a matter of fact that is to be found in Sir Henry Cotton's letter as printed in your issue of the 24th. He says, 'Polygamy among Kulin Brahmans is absolutely non-existent. My personal experience extends over a period of 40 years, and I never heard of a case of Kulin polygamy.' Sir Henry Cotton has been very fortunate in

credibly informed not many years ago, Rs. 10,000, or nearly £700. It may be asked why does not the Congress which professes to act as a body anxious to reform all matters to the benefit of the people of India apply itself to such social matters of the highest importance? Why does it not commence its work at home before it stirs up matters of political controversy? The answer which suggests itself is obvious. Because it does not suit the aims of its leaders. Alas! that it should be so.

H. T. PRINSEP.

*September 27th, 1907.*

SIR,—Sir Henry Prinsep misapprehends my letter to you on this subject. I never said that when I went to India 40 years ago there were no survivors of the old system of Kulin polygamy. On the contrary there were many, and Vidyasagar's committee appointed in 1866, to which Sir Henry Prinsep refers, proved the fact. My point was that during my time I never heard of a case of polygamous marriage being contracted among Kulins. I know it was common enough in old days. But I say that the practice for many years past has completely died out. There may, of course, have been isolated cases, but I am sure they are exceedingly few and I never heard of one. Sir Henry Prinsep does not say that he has heard of any cases since 1866, and he admits that educated Bengalis have abandoned the practice. After all, the last word on this subject cannot be spoken by English officials, however great their experience may be, but must be said by the Indian members of the community concerned; and I am glad to think that the prominence given by you to this correspondence in your columns will lead to that result.

I am, yours faithfully,

HENRY COTTON

*October 1, 1907*

[*Editorial Note.*—In his letter to us of September 14 Sir Henry Cotton wrote —‘The practice [Kulin polygamy] had died out before I went to India.’ Yet, as Sir Henry Prinsep pointed out in his letter to us of September 27, the practice was still so prevalent about the time Sir H. Cotton went out to India that a committee had only recently been appointed to inquire into it.]

SIR,—Having very recently come from India and having a life-long acquaintance with that country, I am perhaps able to throw some light on the subject of Kulinism, which is being discussed just now in the columns of your paper. It is hard to kill a social custom when bound up and interwoven with the material interest of still a very influential class. Polygamy among Kulin Brahmans is certainly not dead. It is not as rampant as it was, say, half a century ago; but it still flourishes, or is still in vogue, in certain dark corners of the two provinces of Bengal and Behar, chiefly among the more bigoted classes of Hindus, who adhere to the abhorrent practice with a grim steadfastness which can scarcely be reconciled with the advanced and progressive state of certain other sections of Hindu society. Of course, the reason for the upkeep of this hateful custom is the burning desire of the parents (not uncommon in other parts of the world) to get their daughter married to a man on a somewhat higher social level, as regards the scale of castes, which is again bound up with their religion.

Dr. G. A. Grierson (than whom I scarcely know of a higher authority either in Indian literature or social practices and customs as they exist in the present day) is quite accurate in saying that polygamy is still prevalent among the people of Bengal



correspondents under comment in tacitly stigmatizing the *Kula-dharma* as outrageous and degrading because this peculiar form of regulated polygamy happens to be opposed to our own conventions on such relations. 'Kulinism' is not with the Hindus, as with us, a 'mystery of iniquity,' but a 'mystery of godliness,' and so long as it has the consent of their consciences, and is regarded as a high and religious obligation, it cannot be, and is not, morally degrading to them, although it does not tend to their physical elevation, and the development of their virility, as the one sure foundation of the manly virtues. Therefore, while always speaking and writing my mind freely in private to Hindus on such matters as the *ras-mandir* of Western India and the *Kula-dharma* of Eastern Bengal, I have never in public spoken or written in 'moral indignation' on such freaks in morality, or rather, sociology. What is the history of 'Kulinism'? The Sanscrit word *Kula*, clpt to *Kul*, means 'race,' 'tribe,' 'family,' and if not allied to, may be compared with, the words Kelt or Celt and Cul-dee ('the family,' *i.e.*, priest of God); and the word *Kulina* or *Kulin* means, primarily, 'of good family'; while *Kula-dharma* means primarily a binding observance, of gradually growing religious import, arising out of the natural instinct to preserve in pristine purity the blue Aryan blood of that section of the Bengali Brahmans who, on quite inadequate grounds, regard themselves as superior to all other Brahmans, not only in Bengal, but throughout India, in the integrity of their illustrious descent. These primitive *Kulin* of Bengal are represented by the widely, and, let it be added, well-famed family names of Bonnerjee, Chatterjee, Gangully, and Mookerjee; while the great family names of Bose, Dutt, Ghose, and Mitra represent the Hindus who became attached to these *Kulin* families on their original immigration into Anga-Banga. And these *Kulin* are most honourable men; so that the word *Kulin* has at last come to be an honorific title, the equivalent of our 'The Honourable,' or 'The Right Honourable,' as it came to be in our earlier history with the works Kelt and Culdee. They happen also, for the most part, to be of fine physique; for after all polygamy may be less conducive to excess than monogamy, and Bengali Kulinism is largely nominal. Though for the greater part ignorant of English, they are learned Sanscritists and often accomplished Persian scholars, and they strictly maintain the tradition of the stately old Hindu manners and social customs, and are always the most excellent good company.

I am not worthy to 'bow to the shadow of' Mr. Oman's 'shoe tie,' but in view of Sir Henry Cotton's obliquitous attack on his recent profoundly significant work, I will only say that I could confirm some of the strangest things in it from my own personal experience in the Canarese country among the Vira-Saiva *lingwant* and *lingadhar*:

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD

October 1, 1907.

SIR,—Will you allow me, as a subject of the British Empire, to join Sir George Birdwood in his protest against the gross insularity with which the subject of *Kulin* polygamy has been discussed in your columns since Sir Henry Cotton, by putting

want of well-bred children. Even when chance is favourable, and the daughter finds a husband, she often refuses to become a mother because her religious and social training has taught her to regard motherhood as a department of original sin, and to glory, not in the possession of children, but of a husband; so that the childless woman with a husband despises the mother who has no husband.

What does the Bengali father do under the same circumstances according to Sir Henry Prinsep? He selects a picked man—a Brahman, representing the highest degree of culture and character in his class; and he pays him £700 to enable his daughter to become the mother of a well-bred child.

Now this may strike the parochial Englishman as unusual or, as he would put it, 'revolting, 'abhorrent,' and so forth; but it is certainly not unreasonable and not inhuman. Far from being obviously calculated to degrade the race, it is, on the face of it, aimed at improving it. Sir George Birdwood has just told us in your columns that the *Kulin* 'happen, for the most part, to be of fine physique.' Sir George has no doubt also noticed that the products of our system happen, for the most part, not to be of fine physique. Is it quite clear that this is mere happening? Is it not rather what one would expect under the circumstances? And is the practice of taking deliberate steps to produce and reproduce men of fine physique really revolting and abhorrent to our British conscience as distinguished from our British prejudice?

Let us, however, do justice to our system, indefensible as it is in many respects. It secures what most men want—that is, a sharing out of the women among the men so that every Jack shall have his Jill, and the able men and attractive women shall not accumulate partners and leave mediocrity unprovided. If this were the end of public policy in the matter, and if the race might safely take its chance of degeneracy provided monogamy, even on the hardest conditions, were maintained, there would be nothing more to be said. But as the whole Imperial problem before us is fundamentally nothing else than to produce more capable political units than our present system breeds—in short, to breed the Superman—this is not a time to rail at experiments made by people who are not under the harrow of our prejudices, or to persist in calling the customs founded on those prejudices by question-begging names such as purity, chastity, propriety, and so forth, and to speak of a Brahman who is the father of a hundred children as a libertine with a hundred wives. Any man of thirty may have a hundred children without having a wife at all and still be positively ascetic in his temperance compared with an average respectable and faithful British husband of the same age. And if the hundred children 'happen, for the most part, to be of fine physique,' the nation will be more powerful and prosperous in the next generation than if these hundred children were replaced by a hundred others of indifferent physique, each having a different father, promiscuously picked up in a Clapham drawing-room.

A system which limits the fertility of its men of fine physique to the child-bearing capacity of one woman, and wastes the lives of thousands of first-rate maiden ladies in barrenness because they like to own their own houses and manage their own affairs without being saddled with a second-rate or tenth-rate man, must not take its own merits for granted. It may be the right system; it may be bound up with all that is best in our national life and fortunate in our national history; it may be all that our stupidest people unanimously claim for it. But then again it may not.

rational to assert that, as adultery is not regarded as a crime by the law of England, it must follow that the English are a nation of adulterers

It does no good whatever to make an isolated instance the basis of a stricture that cannot but make the work of government difficult. If *Kulinism* is dead, *requiescat in pace* If it is not, is there any sense in making false assertions that must wound the pride of the Indian on the one hand, and rouse the unreasoning prejudices of the Englishman on the other ?

Yours faithfully,

VIRENDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

43, FANET-HOUSE, STRAND, W. C.,

4th Oct

SIR,—When I wrote the letter which appeared in your issue of September 27th I little thought that I should be accused of expressing an opinion as to the merits or demerits of *Kulin* polygamy on the ground that (to quote Sir George Birdwood) it is opposed to our conventions of such relations. Nothing could have been further from my intentions. My object was to correct a mistake of fact, and to do so mainly from the evidence of a native witness. My own experience is of small value. As, however, the charge has been made both by Sir George Birdwood and by Mr. Bernard Shaw, may I explain that, putting all questions of sexual morality to one side, whether the system is right or wrong in theory, in the practical working of its extreme forms it is an organized system of extortion, working the most cruel injustice upon its unhappy victims ? *Pace* Mr. Shaw, it actually condemns numbers of girls to an unmarried life who would otherwise be married. These are questions of fact. If Mr. Shaw doubts my evidence, I can refer him to the work written by a native of Bengal from which I quoted in my last letter, or (for earlier years) to the report of the Commission mentioned by Sir Henry Prinsep and Sir George Birdwood.

Let me also make one other point quite clear. While I do not hesitate to say what I think about the evils of *Kulinism*, I should be disloyal to the affection which I bear to the people amongst whom I spent some of the best and happiest years of my life did I not openly dissociate myself from those who, because of the existence of this evil, or because some foolish and some wicked men are guilty of violence, denounce Hindus or Bengalis as a nation. Like all of us who have served in India, I have had my bad moments, and have been in tight places ; nevertheless, looking back along the vista of not a few years, it is not these that dwell in my memory, but loyal friends that I made and innumerable tokens of the mutual regard which existed between my own people and those amongst whom our lot was cast

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE A GRIERSON

CAMBERLEY,

5th Oct.

[ *Editorial Note.*—The book referred to by Mr. Grierson is entitled 'The Brahmans and Kayasthas of Bengal,' by Bahu Girindranath Dutt. It was published in 1906. The passage quoted was as follows :—'The only possible and practical means to extirpate the manifold vicious effects of *Kulinism*—e.g., polygamy, ruinous marriage demands, matrimonial difficulties, etc.—is to abolish the cause, *Kulinism*, from every section of the community.' ]

the Rajah Adisui, and it is stated that the cause of this distribution was the fact that the sect of Brahmins generally had fallen off in knowledge and in practice of the strict Hindu Shastras.

There were two chief divisions of Koolins, *viz.*, the Barendros of what was then known as the geographical division of Barendrobhoom, and the Rarhis of Buidwan and other places

The Koolins of Barendrobhoom were divided into two classes —

1st—Koolins ; and

2ndly—Kaps ;

but as it is not amongst the Barendro Koolins that any abuse of the system of polygamy exists, we shall not further refer to these Koolins.

The Rarhi Koolins were also divided into two classes, *viz.* —

1st—The Koolins ;

2nd—The Shrotryos ;

and subsequently to these classes was added a third, the Bhongshojo, the origin of which is somewhat obscure.

The Koolin class was an order of merit, and was composed of those Brahmins who had the nine qualifications—

1st—Of observance of Brahmin duties ;

2nd—Of meekness ,

3rd—Of learning ;

4th—Of good report ,

5th—Of a disposition to visit holy places ;

6th—Of devotion ;

7th—Of the preservation of the custom of marriages and inter-marriages amongst equals only ;

8th—Of asceticism ; and

9th—Of liberality.

The Shrotryo was composed of those Brahmins who were supposed to have eight only of the nine qualifications of the Koolins.

When the above classes were first created, a peculiar Code of Laws, the bulk of which has in process of time swelled, and which is called by the Koolins the Kooleena Shastras, was laid down for the guidance of the Koolins.

If it were possible, it would be superfluous to trace the history of the Koolins from the time above mentioned up to the present time ; it is sufficient that we should now state, not in its numerous ramifications and complications, but in its main features only, what we believe to be the present condition of the Koolin class or of Koolins and Koolinism as best known by these terms. We are speaking of the Rarhi division of Brahmins, and we believe we are right in stating that the chief distinctive classes amongst them at the present day are four in number, and are these, *viz.* :—

The Koolins, or first class.

Bhongo Koolins, or second class.

Bhongshojo Koolins, or third class.

Shrotryo Brahmins, or fourth class.

6th—Marriage, it is said, is contracted quite in old age, and the husband often never sees his wife, or only at the best visits her once in every three or four years or so.

7th—As many as three and four marriages have been known to have been contracted in one day.

8th—Sometimes all a man's daughters and his unmarried sisters are given in marriage to one and the same individual

9th—It is so difficult to find husbands in the proper class for Koolin women that numbers, it is said, remain unmarried

10th—The married or unmarried daughters and the wives of Koolins are said to live in the utmost misery ; and it is alleged that crimes of the most heinous nature, adultery, abortion and infanticide, and that prostitution are the common result of the system of Bhongo Koolin marriages generally.

11th—Cases are cited of men who have married 82, 72, 65, 60 and 42 wives, and have had 18, 32, 41, 25 and 32 sons, and 26, 27, 25, 15 and 16 daughters

12th—Lists have been adduced of families in the Burdwan and Hooghly districts alone, showing the existence of a plurality of wives on the above scale, and in numerous cases.

13th—The principle on which Koolinism was perpetuated, *viz*, that of preventing inter-marriages between certain classes, is violated.

14th—Families, it is said, are ruined, in order to providing the large sums requisite to give a consideration on the occasion of their daughters' marriages, or are unable to marry their daughters at all for want of means to procure such consideration.

15th—Marriages are, it is said, contracted simply in order to this consideration, and the husbands do not even care to enquire what becomes of their wives, and have never even had any intention of fulfilling any one of the marriage duties.

16th—The crimes that are said to result from the Koolin system of marriage are said to be habitually concealed by the actors in them and by their neighbours, and this so as to baffle the efforts of the Police at discovery

17th—No provision is made for the maintenance of one wife before marriage with an unlimited number of others.

The above are said to be some of the customs and are declared to be some of the evils said to result from the system of polygamy as practised by the sect of Bhongo Koolins, and the evils may thus be briefly summed up :—

1st—The practical deprivation of the indulgence of natural ties and desires in the female sex in a legitimate manner ; 2nd, the virtual, sometimes the actual, desertion of the wife by her natural and legal protector, the husband ; 3rd, the encouragement of the practice of celibacy amongst the female sex ; 4th the non-maintenance of the wife by the husband ; 5th, the supersession or abandonment of the wife at the mere pleasure of the husband ; 6th, the formation of the contract of marriage for money considerations simply ; 7th, the denial of nuptial intercourse except upon special monetary consideration given ; 8th, the ruin, in a property point of view, of families ; 9th, the contraction of the marriage tie avowedly without any intention even on the part of the husband of fulfilling any one of the duties of that tie ; 10th, the binding down the female sex to all the obligations of the marriage state whilst yet withholding from that sex every one of the advantages of that state ; 11th, prostitution ; and

Macnaghten, on the other hand, points out the illogical nature of the deduction made from the texts quoted, and states that action taken in the matter of marriages from this deduction is considered by the Pundits to be reprehensible.—Volume I, pp. 58, 59

In our view the texts 12, 13, Chapter III, Manu, relied on, must be held to be obsolete and inapplicable. Those texts refer to an era in the Hindoo system in which it was permitted to a Brahmin to marry out of his own sect and thus prescribed the order, and put no restraint upon the circumstances under which he might contract such marriages but we are now presumed to be living in a purer era, when marriages of this looser kind, which were before permitted, are now prohibited, and the logical deduction seems to us to be that those texts, which had for their main object the regulation of such marriages, have, with the marriages themselves, become obsolete.

We turn, therefore, to those other authorities which seem to us to declare most definitely the Hindoo system of polygamy.

Immemorial custom, which is defined to be good usages long established, is declared to regulate the laws concerning marriage, and the relationship of husband and wife.—Manu, Chapter I, Sections 112, 115, and Chapter 2, Section 18

A Brahmin who has not violated the rules of his order, who has read certain portions of the Vedas, who has obtained the consent of his spiritual guide, and who has performed certain ceremonial ablutions, may then espouse a wife of the same class as himself, who is endowed with certain excellencies, and not marked by certain defects.—Manu, Chapter III, Sections 2 and 4 and 7 to 11.

On the decease of the wife, the husband may, after performance of sacrifice and the funeral rites, marry again —Manu, Chapter 5, Section 168.

If a wife drinks spirituous liquors, if she acts immorally, if she shows aversion to her husband, if she be afflicted with any loathsome or incurable disease, if she be mischievous, if she wastes her husband's property, if she be afflicted with a blemish of which the husband was not aware when he married her, if she have been given in marriage fraudulently, if before marriage she have been unchaste, if, after seven years of married life, she has remained barren, if, in the tenth year of marriage, her children be all dead, if, after ten years of marriage, she has produced only daughters, and if she has spoken unkindly to her husband, she may in some of those contingencies, be altogether abandoned, and in all superseded by her husband —Manu, Chapter IX, Sections 72, 77, 80, 81.

But the wife who is beloved and virtuous, though she be afflicted with disease, may yet not be superseded by another wife without her own consent.—Manu, Chapter IX, Section 82.

These causes are accepted by Strange as those which lead to separation (Chapter 2, p. 47), and he remarks upon the latitude which they give to the will and caprice of the husband, whenever there is in him the disposition to take advantage of the letter of the law.

And further on, he points out that, where supersession of the wife is not justifiable nor permissible, under, we would suppose, any one of the above contingencies, there it is illegal; and he defines illegal supersession to be the abandoning, with a view to another wife, a blameless and efficient wife who has given neither cause nor consent.—Pp. 52 to 54, Chapter 2.

not wholly ascribable to it. They are seen to exist in full force even where polygamy is not known or is considered a crime, and would appear to be simply the natural consequence of an imperfect knowledge of social laws not confined to India alone. A legislative enactment, however stringent and rigidly enforced, might be effectual in diverting those evils from their original course, but it is quite powerless to stop the source from which they take their rise.

3.—Our countrymen are already awakened to a proper sense of the duties which they owe to themselves and to their offsprings, to be swayed by those considerations which rendered polygamy at one time an unavoidable necessity. We are accordingly of opinion that this question may, without injury to public morals, be left for settlement to the good sense and judgment of the people. The Government cannot directly interfere with it without producing serious harm in diverse ways. All that it can and ought to do is to assist in the spread of that enlightenment which has already so much advanced the desired reform.

Some explanation is due from Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, who had signed the petition, praying for a law for restricting the practice of polygamy. He desires to say that he has always been against this custom, and that when the movement was initiated about ten years ago, he was strongly in favour of it from a belief that the evils flowing from it would not be rooted out without the force of law, and when it was revived last year, he also gave his adhesion. But he is now satisfied by enquiries instituted by himself, as well as from representations made to him by others, that a remarkable change in the opinion of his countrymen has, within the last few years, taken place on this subject, that with other signs of social progress not the least is that which marks with strong disapprobation the old custom of taking a plurality of wives as a means of a man's subsistence, and that it would consequently be in accord with the true interests of morality as well as of the cause of improvement for the State to abstain from interfering in the matter.

RAMANAATH TAGORE.

JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE.

DEGUMBER MITTER.

CALCUTTA :

*The 1st February 1867* }

I sign this report with the following reservations :—

I am of opinion that the evils alluded to in pages cl, cli are not "greatly exaggerated," and that the decrease of these evils is not sufficient to do away with the necessity of legislation.

I would translate the term "speaking unkindly" in page civ to mean "habitually abusing," and the term "mischievous" to mean "exceedingly cruel."

I do not concur in the conclusion come to by the other gentlemen of the Committee. I am of opinion that a Declaratory Law might be passed without interfering with that liberty which Hindoos now by law possess in the matter of marriage.

ISHWAR CHANDRA SURMA.

(VIDYASAGAR.)

*The 22nd January 1867.*

hundred years. Again pressed by the Hindus, they wandered on under a Raja called Hambir Singh to the eastern part of the Manbhum district near Pachet. Here after a while their Rajas adopted the Hindu religion and set up as Rajputs, so that at the present day they intermarry with the family of the Raja of Sarguja. But the people would not change their religion, so they left their chief to rule over Hindus, and wandered on to the Santāl Parganās where they are settled now.

Neither as a record of actual wanderings nor as an example of the workings of the myth-making faculty does this story of the wandering of the Santāls appear to deserve serious consideration. A people whose only means of recording facts consists of tying knots in strings and who have no bards to hand down a national epic by oral tradition, can hardly be expected to preserve the memory of their past long enough or accurately enough for their accounts of it to possess any historical value. An attempt has indeed been made by Mr. Skreftsrud to prove from these legends that the Santāls must have entered into India from the north-west, just as Colonel Dalton uses the same data in support of his opinion that the tribe came originally from Assam. The one hypothesis is as tenable or as untenable as the other, and all that can be said is that there is not a fraction of substantial evidence in support of either. If, however, the legends of the Santāls are regarded as an account of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts. Without pressing the conjecture mentioned above, that Ahiri Pipri may be no other than *pargana* Ahiri in the north-west of Hazaribagh district, it is clear that a large and important Santāl colony was once settled in Parganās Chai and Champā in the same district. A tradition is noticed by Colonel Dalton of an old fort in Chai occupied by one Jaura, a Santāl Raja, who destroyed himself and his family on hearing of the approach of a Muhammadan army under Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ali *alias* Malik Bayā, a general of Muhammad Tughlak's, who died in 1353. This tradition, so far as it refers to the existence of a Santāl fort in Chai Champā, is to some extent corroborated by the following passage from the legends of the Southern Santāls collected by the Revd. J. Phillips and published in Appendix G to *Annals of Rural Bengal*, ed. 1868 :— "Dwelling there (in Chai Champā) they greatly multiplied. There were two gates, the Ahiri gate and the Bahini gate, to the fort of Chai Champā." If, moreover the date of the taking of this fort by Ibrahim Ali were assumed to be about 1340 A. D., the subsequent migrations of which the tribal legends speak would fill up the time intervening between the departure of the Santāls from Chai Champā and their settlement in the present Santāl Parganās. Speaking generally, these recent migrations have been to the east, which is the direction they might *prima facie* have been expected to follow. The earlier settlements which Santal tradition speaks of, those in Ahiri Pipri and Chai Champā, lie on the north-western frontier of the tableland of Hazaribagh and in the direct line of advance of the numerous Hindu immigrants from Bihar. That the influx of Hindus has in fact driven the Santāls eastward is beyond doubt, and the line which they are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends.

The internal structure of the Santāl tribe is singularly complete and elaborate. There are twelve exogamous septs, (1) Hāsdak, (2) Murmu, (3) Kisku, (4) Hembrom,



No Santāl may marry within his sept (*paris*), nor within any of the sub-septs (*khunt*) (shown below) into which the sept is divided. He may marry into any other sept, including the sept to which his mother belonged. A Santāl proverb says :—No one heeds a cow track or regards his mother's sept

Although no regard is paid in marriage to the mother's sept, the Santāls have precisely the same rule as the Kandhs concerning the sub-sept or *khunt*. A man may not marry into the sub-sept or *khunt* to which his mother belonged, though it is doubtful whether the Santāls observe this rule for as many generations in the descending line as is customary among the Kandhs. Many of the sub-septs have curious traditional usages, some of which may be mentioned here. At the time of the harvest festival in January the members of the Sidup-Saren sub-sept set up a sheaf of rice on end in the doorway of their cattle-sheds. This sheaf they may not touch themselves, but some one belonging to another sub-sept must be got to take it away. Men of the Sādā-Saren sub-sept do not use vermilion in their marriage ritual; they may not wear clothes with a red border on such occasions, nor may they be present at any ceremony in which the priest offers his own blood to propitiate the gods. The Jugi-Saren, on the other hand, smear their foreheads with *sindur* at the harvest festival, and go round asking alms of rice. With the rice they get they make little cakes which they offer to the gods. The Mānjhi-Khil-Saren, so called because their ancestor was a Mānjhi or village headman, are forbidden, like the Sādā-Saren, to attend when the priest offers up his own blood. The Nāiki-Khil-Saren, who claim descent from a *nāiki* or village priest may not enter a house the inmates of which are ceremonially unclean. They have a *jahrthan* or sacred grove of their own, distinct from the common *jahrthan* of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village. The Ok-Saren sacrifice a goat or a pig inside their houses, and during the ceremony they shut the doors tight and allow no smoke to escape. The word *ok* means to suffocate or stifle with smoke. The Mundu or Badar-Saren offer their sacrifices in the jungle, and allow only males to eat the flesh of the animals that have been slain. The Māl-Saren may not utter the word *mal* when engaged in a religious ceremony or when sitting on a *pañchayat* to determine any tribal questions. The Jihu-Saren may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mala* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The *jihu* is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. The Sankh-Saren may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments. The Barchir Saren plant a spear in the ground when they are engaged in religious or ceremonial observances. The Bitol-Saren are so called because their founder was excommunicated on account of incest.

Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized, it being understood that if the girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her. Should he attempt to evade this obligation, he would be severely beaten by the Jag-mānjhi, and in addition to this his father would be required to pay a heavy fine. It is curious to hear that in the Santāl Parganās, shortly after the rebellion of 1855, it became the fashion among the more wealthy Santāls to imitate the usages of high-caste Hindus and marry their daughters between the ages of eight and twelve. This fashion has, however, since been abandoned, and it is now very unusual for a girl to be married

and wife. A practice closely resembling this was found by Colonel Dalton to be in vogue among the Birhors, and it is quite in keeping with what is known of the doings of primitive man in the matter of marriage. The memory of it, however, only survives among the Santāls in the form of a vague and shadowy tradition upon which no stress can be laid. *Sindurdan*, on the other hand, is nothing but a refined and specialised form of the really primitive usage of mixing the blood of a married couple and making them drink or smear themselves with the mixture, and although it is possible that the Santāls may have borrowed *sindurdan* from the Hindus, there are certainly good grounds for believing that the Hindus themselves must have derived it from the Dravidian races.

The second mode of marriage, *ghardi jawae*, is resorted to when a girl is ugly or deformed and there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way. An instance has been reported to me in which a girl who had on one foot more than the proper number of toes was married in this fashion. The husband is expected to live in his father-in-law's house and to serve him for five years. At the end of that time he gets a pair of bullocks, some rice and some agricultural implements, and is allowed to go about his business.

The third form, *itut*, is adopted by pushing young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry them. The man smears his fingers with vermilion or, failing that, with common earth, and, watching his opportunity at market or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Having done this, he runs away at full speed to avoid the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's people will go to his village and will obtain from the headman permission to kill and eat three of the offender's or his father's goats, and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl. The marriage, however, is legal, and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster. It is said that an *itut* marriage is often resorted to out of spite in order to subject the girl to the humiliation of being divorced.

The fourth form, *nirbolok* (*nir*, to run, and *bolok* to enter) may be described as the female variety of *itut*. A girl who cannot get the man she wants in the regular way takes a pot of *handia* or rice-beer, enters his house and insists upon staying there. Etiquette forbids that she should be expelled by main force, but the man's mother, who naturally desires to have a voice in the selection of her daughter-in-law, may use any means short of personal violence to get her out of the house. It is quite fair, for example, and is usually found effective, to throw red pepper on the fire, so as to smoke the aspiring maiden out; but if she endures this ordeal without leaving the house, she is held to have won her husband and the family is bound to recognize her.

The fifth form, *sauga*, is used for the marriage of widows and divorced women. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house attended by a small party of her own friends, and the binding proportion of the ritual consists in the bridegroom taking a *dimbu* flower, marking it with *sindur* with his left hand, and with the same hand sticking it in the bride's back hair.

The sixth form, *Kiring jawae*, is resorted to in the comparatively rare case when a girl has had a *liaison* with, and become pregnant by, a man of her sept

especially master of all the witches, by reason of which latter functions he is held in especial reverence. (6) Mānjhi, a sort of second-in-command to Parganā, a personage who is supposed to be particularly active in restraining the gods from doing harm to men. The two latter are clearly deities constructed on the model of the communal and village officials whose names they bear. The idea is that the gods, like men, need supervising officials of this sort to look after them and keep them in order. All the foregoing gods have their allotted place in the sacred grove (*Jahirthan*), and are worshipped only in public. Marang Buru alone is also worshipped privately in the family.

Each family also has two special gods of its own—the Orak-bonga or household god and the Abge-bonga or secret god. The names of the Orak-bongas are (1) Baspahar, (2) Deswālī, (3) Sās, (4) Goraya, (5) Barpahar, (6) Sarchawdī, (7) Thuntatursa. The Abge-bongas are the following :—(1) Dharasore or Dharasaṇḍa, (2) Ketkomkudra, (3) Champa-denagarh, (4) Garhsinka, (5) Lilachandī, (6) Dhanghara, (7) Kudrachandī, (8) Bahara, (9) Duārseri, (10) Kudraj, (11) Gosām Erā, (12) Achālī, (13) Deswālī. No Santāl would divulge the name of his Orak-bonga and Abge-bonga to any one but his eldest son ; and men are particularly careful to keep this sacred knowledge from their wives for fear lest they should acquire undue influence with the *bongas*, become witches, and eat up the family with impunity when the protection of its gods has been withdrawn. The names given above were disclosed to Mr Skrefsrud by Christian Santāls. When sacrifices are offered to the Orak-bongas the whole family partake of the offerings ; but only men may touch the food that has been laid before the Abge-bongas. These sacrifices take place once a year. No regular time is fixed, and each man performs them when it suits his convenience.

There still lingers among the Santāls a tradition of a 'mountain-god' (Buru-bonga) of unknown name, to whom human sacrifices used to be offered, and actual instances have been mentioned to me of people being kidnapped and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen of communes or villages, who hoped in his way to gain great riches or to win some specially coveted private revenge.

These are not the motives which prompted human sacrifice among the Kandhs of Orissa, a tribe whose internal structure curiously resembles that of the Santāls. The Kandh sacrifice was undertaken for the benefit of the entire tribe, not in the interest of individual ambition or malevolence. It is curious to hear that one of the men credited with this iniquity was himself murdered during the Santāl rebellion of 1855, by being slowly hewn in pieces with axes, just as his own victims had been—a mode of execution which certainly recalls the well-known procedure of the Kandhs.

The chief festival of the Santāls is the Sohrai or harvest festival, celebrated in *Posh* (November-December), after the chief rice crop of the year has been got in. Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priest in the sacred grove ; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and a general saturnalia of drunkenness and sexual license prevails. Chastity is in abeyance for the time, and all unmarried persons may indulge in promiscuous intercourse. This license, however, does not extend to adultery, nor does it sanction intercourse between persons of the same sept, though even this offence, if committed during the Sohrai, is punished less severely than at other times. Next in importance is the *Bahā puja* kept in *Phalgun*

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|---|---|--|
| 3. <i>Jag-Manjhi</i>  | { | Executive officers, respectively of the <i>manjhi</i> and the <i>paramanik</i> who, as the Santāls describe it, "sit and give orders," which the <i>Jag-Manjhi</i> and <i>Jag-Paramanik</i> carry out. |
| 4. <i>Jag-Paramanik</i> .   |   |  |
| 5. <i>Naiki</i> .—Village priest of the aboriginal deities  |   |  |
| 6. <i>Kudam-Naiki</i> —Assistant priest, whose peculiar function it is to propitiate the spirits ( <i>bhuts</i> ) of the hills and jungles by scratching his arms till they bleed, mixing the blood with rice, and placing it in spots frequented by the <i>bhuts</i> .         |   |  |
| 7. <i>Gorait</i> .—Village messenger, who holds <i>man</i> land and acts as peon to the headman. The <i>gorait</i> is also to some extent a servant of the zamindar. His chief duty within the village is to bring to the <i>manjhi</i> and <i>paramanik</i> any ryot they want |   |  |

The communal circles of the Santāls seem to correspond closely to the *mutas* of the Khands and the *parhas* of the Mundas and Oraons. It is a plausible conjecture that among all these tribes this organization was once connected with marriage as it is among the Khands at the present day.

### MUNDA.

Mura, Horo-hon, a large Dravidian tribe of Chota Nāgpur, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian, and closely akin to the Hos and Santāls, and probably also to the Kandhs. The name Munda is of Sanskrit origin. It means headman of a village, and is a titular or functional designation used by the members of the tribe, as well as by outsiders, as a distinctive name much in the same way as the Santāls call themselves Mānjhi, the Bhumij Sardār, and the Khambu of the Darjeeling hills Jimdār. The general name Kol, which is applied to both Mundas and Oraons, is interpreted by Herr Jellinghaus to mean pig-killer, but the better opinion seems to be that it is a variant of *horo*, the Mundārī for man. The change of *r* to *l* is familiar and needs no illustration, while in explanation of the conversion of *h* into *k*, we may cite *hon*, the Mundari for 'child,' which in Korwa becomes *kon* and *koro*, the Muāsi form of *horo*, 'a man.' It may be added that the Kharias of Chota Nāgpur call the Mundas Kora, a name closely approaching Kol.

The Munda myth of the making of mankind tells how the self-existent primeval deities Ote Borām and Sing Bonga created a boy and a girl and put them together in a cave to people the world. At first they were too innocent to understand what was expected of them, but the gods showed them how to make rice-beer, which inflames the passions, and in course of time their family reached the respectable number of twelve of either sex. As is usual in myths of this class, the children were divided into pairs; and Sing Bonga set before them various kinds of food for them to choose from before starting in the world. The fate of their descendants depended on their choice. Thus "the first and second pair took bullocks' and buffaloes' flesh, and they originated the Kols (Hōs) and the Bhumij (Matkum); the next took of the vegetables only, and are the progenitors of the Brāhmans and Chhatris, others took goats and fish, and from them are the Sudras. One pair took shell-fish and became Bhuiyās; two pairs took pigs and became Santāls. One pair got nothing, seeing which the first pairs gave them of their superfluity; and from the pair thus provided spring the Ghasis, who toil not, but live by preying on others."

by way of appeal from the unjust punishments believed to have been inflicted by his subordinates. Next in rank to Sing-Bonga comes Buru-Bonga or Marang-Buru, also known as Pāt-Sarnā, a mountain god, whose visible habitation is usually supposed to be the highest or most remarkable hill or rock in the neighbourhood. "In Chota Nāgpur," says Colonel Dalton, "a remarkable bluff, near the village of Lodhma is the Marang-Buru or Maha-Buru for a wide expanse of country. Here people of all castes assemble and sacrifice—Hindus, even Mahomedans, as well as Kols. There is no visible object of worship; the sacrifices are offered on the top of the hill, a bare semi-globular mass of rock. If animals are killed, the heads are left there, and afterwards appropriated by the *pahan* or village priest." Marang-Buru is regarded as the god who presides over the rainfall, and is appealed to in times of drought, as well as when any epidemic sickness is abroad. The appropriate offering to him is a buffalo. Ikir Bonga rules over tanks, wells and large sheets of water; Garhāera is the goddess of rivers, streams and the small springs which occur on many hill sides in Chota Nāgpur; while Nāge or Nāga-era is a general name applied to the minor deities or spirits who haunt the swampy lower level of the terraced rice-fields. All of these are believed to have a hand in spreading disease among men, and require constant propitiation to keep them out of mischief. White goats and black or brown cocks are offered to Ikir Bonga and eggs and turmeric to the Nāge. Deswālī or Kārā-Sarnā is the god of the village, who lives with his wife Jāhīr Burhī or Sarhul-Sarnā in the Sarna or sacred grove, a patch of the forest primeval left intact to afford a refuge for the forest gods. Every village has its own Deswālī, who is held responsible for the crops, and receives periodical worship at the agricultural festivals. His appropriate offering is a *kara* or he-buffalo; to his wife fowls are sacrificed. Gumi is another of the Sarna deities whose precise functions I have been unable to ascertain. Bullocks and pigs are sacrificed to him at irregular intervals. Chandor appears to be same as Chando Omol or Chanala, the moon worshipped by women, as the wife of Sing-Bonga and the mother of the stars. Colonel Dalton mentions the legend that she was faithless to her husband, and he cut her in two, 'but repenting of his anger he allows her at times to shine forth in full beauty.' Goats are offered to her in the *Sarna*. Haprom is properly the homestead, but it is used in a wider sense to denote the group of dead ancestors who are worshipped in the homestead by setting apart for them a small portion of every meal and with periodical offerings of fowls. They are supposed to be ever on the watch for chances of doing good or evil to their descendants and the Munda fully realise the necessity for appeasing and keeping them in good humour.

The festivals of the tribe are the following:—(1) Sarhul or Sarjum-Bābā, the spring festival corresponding to the Baha or Bah-Bonga of the Santāls and Hos in *Chait* (March-April) when the *sāl* [*Shorea robusta*] tree is in bloom. Each household sacrifices a cock and makes offerings of *sāl* flowers to the founders of the village in whose honour the festival is held. (2) Kadletā or Batauli in *Asarh* at the commencement of the rainy season. "Each cultivator," says Colonel Dalton, "sacrifices a fowl, and after some mysterious rites a wing is stripped off and inserted in the cleft of a bamboo and stuck up in the rice-field and dung-heāp. If this is omitted, it is supposed that the rice will not come to maturity." (3) Nanā or Jom-Nana, the festival of new rice in Asin, when the highland rice is harvested. A white cock is sacrificed to Sing-Bonga, and the first fruits of the harvest are laid before him.

(1) *Munda*.—The *munda* is the chief of the *bhuinhars*, or descendants of the original clearers of the village. He is a person of great consequence in the village and all demands from the *bhuinhars*, whether of money or labour, must be notified by the owner of the village through the *munda*. He is remunerated for his trouble by the *bhuinhari* land, which he holds at a low rate of rent, and receives no other salary. In *pargana* Lodhmā, and in the south-eastern portion of Lohardagā, he sometimes performs the *mahato's* duties as well as his own, and he then gets a small *jagir* of half a *pawa* of land rent-free.

(2) *Mahato*.—The functions of a *mahato* have been compared to those of a *patwari* or village accountant, but he may be more aptly described as a rural settlement officer. He allots the land of the village among the cultivators, giving to each man a *goti* or clod of earth as a symbol of possession; he collects the rent, pays it to the owner, and settles any disputes as to the amount due from the *raiya*s; and, in short, manages all pecuniary matters connected with the land. He is appointed by the owner of the village, and receives one *pāwa* of *raja*s land rent-free as a *jagir* or service tenure. But the office is neither hereditary nor permanent, and the *mahato* is liable to be dismissed at the landlord's discretion. Dismissal, however, is unusual, and the *mahato* is often succeeded by his son. Where the *mahato* collects the rents, he almost universally receives a fee, called *batta*, of half an anna from each cultivator, or of one anna for every house in the village. In one village *batta* amounts to four annas and a half on every *pawa* of land. Occasionally, where there is no *bhandari* or agent for the owner's rent-paying land, the *mahato* gets three bundles (*karais*) of grain in the straw, containing from ten to twenty *seers* apiece, at every harvest. Thus during the year he would receive three bundles of *gondli* [*Sorghum vulgare*] from the cold weather crop, and the same amount from the *gora* or early rice, and the *don* or late rice. In *khalsa* villages, which are under the direct management of the Mahārājā, the *mahato* often holds, in addition to his official *jagir*, a single *pawa* of land, called *kharcha* or *rozina kket*, from the proceeds of which he is expected to defray the occasional expenses incurred in calling upon cultivators to pay their rent, etc.

The functions of the *mahato* are shown in greater detail in the following extract from Dr. Davidson's Report of 1839:—"On a day appointed, the *thukadar* or farmer proceeds to the *akhra* or place of assembly of the village, where he is met by the *mahato*, *pahn*, *bhandari*, and as many of the *raiya*s as choose to attend. He proceeds, agreeably to the dictation of the *mahato*, to write down the account of the cultivation of the different *raiya*s stating the number of *parwas* held and the rent paid by each. Having furnished this account, any new *raiya*s who may wish to have lands in the village, after having the quantity and rent settled, have a *goti* given to them. If any of the old *raiya*s require any new land, a *goti* is taken for that, but not for the old cultivation. The *mahato* collects the rent as the instalments become due, according to the abovementioned account given to the farmer; and all differences as to the amount of rent payable by a *raiya*t, if any ever arise, which very seldom happens, are settled by the opinion of the *mahato*. So well does this mode answer in practice, that in point of fact a dispute as to the amount of rent owed by a *raiya*t is of rare occurrence. When a farmer wishes to cheat a *raiya*t, he accuses him of having cultivated more land than he is entitled to, or of owing him *maswar* or grain rent for land held in excess; and if such a thing as a dispute

new *phar* or plough-share ; in a very few villages, he holds half a *pawa* of land rent-free.

The *katwal* or constable, and the *chaukidar* or watchman, do not belong to the genuine Munda village system, and need not be mentioned here.

In the Fiscal Division of Tori the bulk of the inhabitants belong to the Kharwār sub-tribe of Bhogtas, and the village system differs from that which prevails on the central plateau. Here *phahn* is the only officials who holds service land, and he gets half a *patti*, or not quite two standard *bighas*. He performs the village *pujas*, and often does the work of a *mahato*, when the owner of the village is an absentee. But even then the landlord sometimes employs a bailiff, called *barkhill*, to collect the rents.

In the tract known as the Five Parganās including Tāmār, Bundu, Silli, Rāhe, and Barandā, as well as in the Mānipattī, or that part of Sonpur *pargana* which borders on Singbhum district, we meet with *mankis* and *mundas*, who are undoubtedly the descendants of the original chiefs, and still hold the villages which their ancestors founded. Here the *parha* divisions exist in their entirety, as groups of from twelve to twenty-four villages each of which has its own *munda* or village head ; while the whole commune is subject to divisional headman called *manki*, who collects the fixed rents payable by the *mundas*. The chief village officer is the *phahn*, who holds from one to five *kats* of land rent-free as *dalikatari*. A *kat* in this sense is a measure of land analogous to, if not identical with the *khandi* of the Kolhān in Singbhum, and denotes the quantity of land which can be sown with, one *kat* of seed. In this part of the country the *munda* sometimes has a deputy called *diwan* who assists him to collect his rents and *bhandaris* are occasionally met with.

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the virtuous, if they themselves are poor, and this as one of the means of subsistence.—Manu, Chapter X, Sections 75, 76

Systems of registration of marriages, of fines increasing in amount for every marriage after the first, of certificates of all marriages after the first, to be taken out in the Civil Courts, and such like schemes have been suggested and have suggested themselves to us; but in all these schemes even if they were not otherwise objectionable, there would, it seems to us, be an element which would, indirectly at least, affect that “general liberty which is now possessed by all Hindoos to take more than one wife” with which we are instructed not to interfere.

The scheme which has at first sight seemed most feasible is that of framing a Declaratory Law, setting forth what the law is on the subject of polygamy, and prohibiting any infraction of it under penalties.

Such a Declaratory Law would certainly “regulate polygamy amongst the Hindoo inhabitants of Lower Bengal generally,” and we are not quite certain, therefore, that, in proposing such a law, we should not be transgressing that part of our instructions which forbids us to “give the express sanction of English legislation to the Hindoo system” of polygamy; but for the sake of considering the subject, we will suppose that we are not prohibited from proposing a Declaratory Law.

Now such a law must, in our judgments, clearly be declaratory of what the Hindoo system of polygamy is, and nothing more and nothing less; if it be more or less, then it ceases to be simply declaratory, and becomes inactive.

The following is that which, after consultation of the best authorities, we find to be the law which, strictly taken, should regulate the practice of polygamy amongst the Hindoos.

We find that, according to one of the ordinances of Manu, a Brahmin is enjoined to marry one wife, and this a woman of his own caste; but that, if he be so inclined, he is permitted to marry more than one wife, during the life-time of his first wife, and he is recommended to select a second, a third, and a fourth wife in the order of the classes, *viz.*, out of the Kshatrya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra classes respectively and consecutively.—Manu, Chapter III, Sections 12, 13.

This was an ordinance of the time of Manu, but we are now in the iron age of the Hindoo system, and so a Brahmin is now forbidden to marry any but a woman of his own caste.

It is contended, however, by the advocates of polygamy that the permission to marry a plurality of wives, which formerly extended to women of all the four classes, is to be construed, not so as to abolish polygamy altogether, but simply so as to confine it to inter-marriages amongst the various classes.

To this opinion Strange so far seems to incline, in that he states that it does not appear how many wives a Hindoo is competent to have at one and the same time (Chapter 2, p. 56); and in Section 204, Chapter VIII, Manu, there is a case in which it is evidently contemplated that a man may be the husband of two persons of the same caste at one and at the same time, though, in this instance, the permission was evidently only accorded under circumstances of an exceptional nature; and again, in section 161, Chapter IV, there is a general maxim, a maxim allowing the widest margin conceivable, to the effect that any act, though it be not prescribed, and if it be not prohibited, is lawful provided that it gratifies the mind of him who performs it.

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## PLATE I.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

### KHAMTI FEMALE.

The chief seat of the Khamtis, who are a branch of the Shan or Tai race, is in Bor Khamti, a Province of Burma, on the Upper Irrawady. Several colonies from thence have settled in Upper Assam, on both banks of the Brahmaputra River, east of Sadiya. They are Buddhists in religion, and by far the most intelligent of the tribes of the North-Eastern Frontier.

This is a very typical representation of a young Khamti woman. The elevation of the hair on the crown of the head indicates that she is married, and the style is recommended as dignified and becoming. Unmarried girls wear it in a roll low down on the occiput. They are exceedingly industrious, spin, weave, dye, and embroider, and can themselves make up all that they wear. The jacket is ordinarily of cotton, dyed blue; the petticoat of the same material, and round the waist a colored silkscarf as a sash. But the dress of the lady in the illustration is of richer material—black velvet bodice and silk skirt. The ear ornaments are of amber.



## PLATE II.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

### CHULIKATA WOMAN.

A typical, but not a favorable specimen of a Chulikata, or crop-haired, Mishmi woman. This tribe occupies the hills north of Sadiya, but their country is so difficult of access, that very little is known about it. They trade between Tibet and Assam, when at peace ; but they are considered the most treacherous and aggressive of all the North-Eastern tribes, though more skilled in arts and manufactures than their neighbours, the Abors to the East, and the Mishmis to the West. They are called Chulikata, or crop-haired, from their having originated the modern fashion of cutting the hair straight across the forehead. The men cut theirs to the level of the rims of their wicker helmets as far as the back of the ear ; both sexes wear it long behind.

## PLATES III & IV.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DR. SIMPSON.

### MALE AND FEMALE OF THE TAIN OR DIGARU MISHMI TRIBE.

These are both good average specimens of the tribe. They are, as a rule, fairer and with softer features than the Abors, acquiring from their journeys across the snow a becoming ruddiness of complexion. The young women have generally pretty figures, which their costume shows to advantage. The frontlet, a thin plate of bright silver, is a picturesque and becoming ornament, worn on the forehead by all women who can afford it. They are a quiet, inoffensive people, occupying the hills and skirts of the hills between the Digaru and Dilli Rivers, two of the north hill-affluents of the Brahmaputra, and devoting themselves chiefly to trade.

PLATE IV.



PLATE V.



PLATE VI.



PLATE VII.

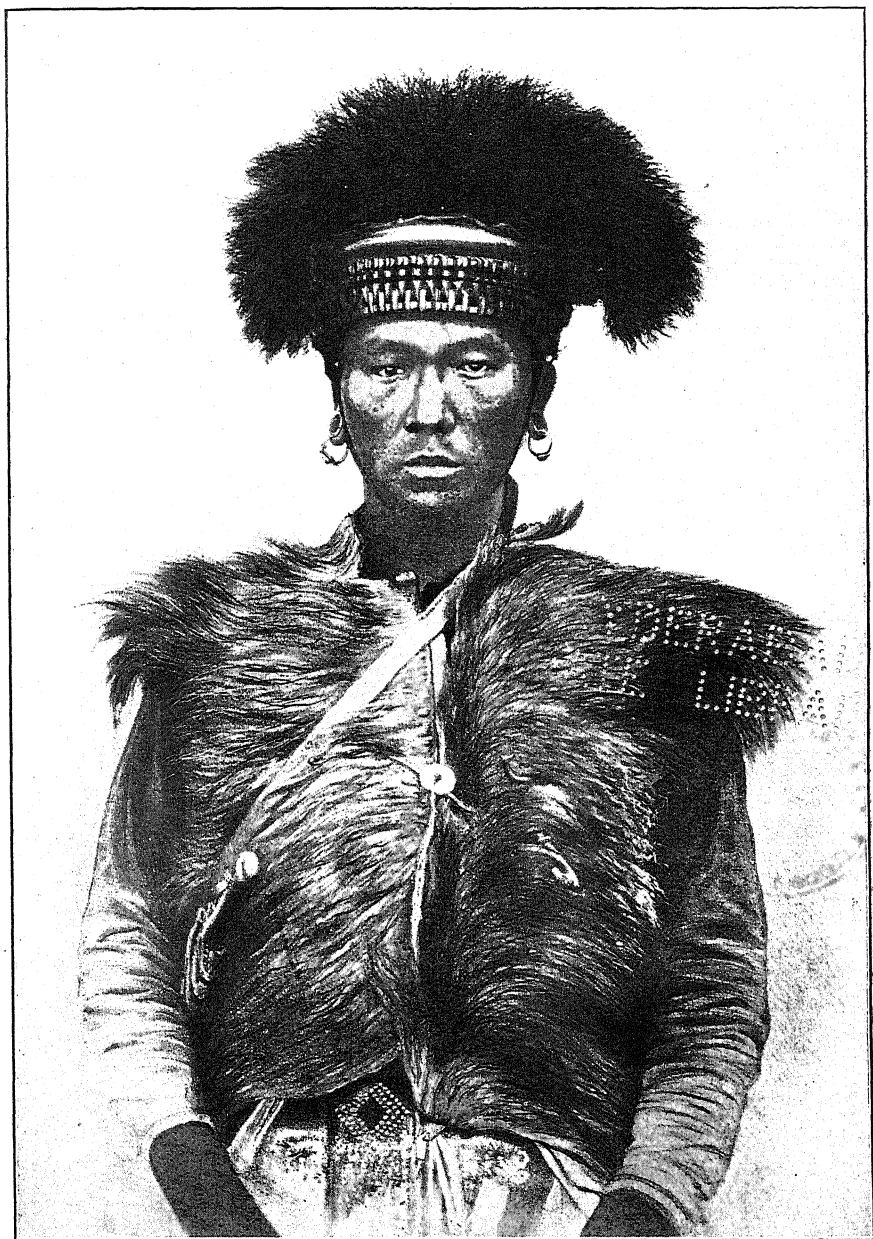
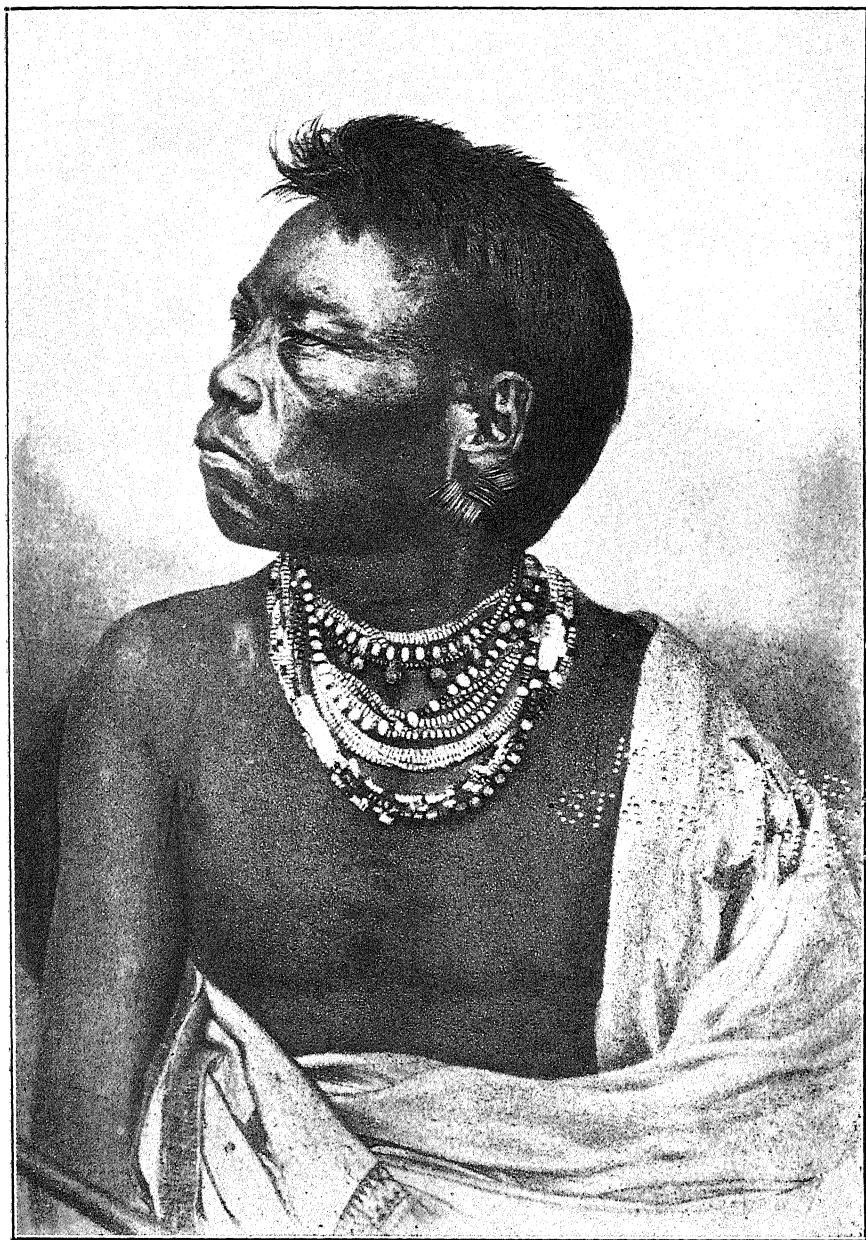


PLATE VIII.



## PLATES X & XI.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DR. SIMPSON.

### LEPCHAS (SIKKIM).

The Lepchas are found in Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal, and in the small State between both, called Sikkim. They are well known at Darjeeling.





PLATE XII.



## PLATE XIV.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

### A 'HO' OR KOL OF SINGHBHUM.

This is a good typical representation of a young Singhbhum Ho or Kol of the clan, or Kili, *Koatūdah*. In his right hand he grasps the national weapon called 'tanghir.' This division of the Kols, called also the Larka, or warlike Kols, are found only in Singhbhum.

## PLATES XV & XVI.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DR. SIMPSON.

### MUNDAS OF CHUTIA NAGPUR, MALE AND FEMALE.

The above are Mundas of villages close to Ranchi, the capital of the Province of Chutia Nagpur, who living with Oraons have adopted their style of decoration. They are good typical representatives of the race, though not handsome specimens. They show the breadth of face and obliquity of eye, which affirm the north-eastern origin ascribed to them.

NOTE.—The Mundas are now generally classed as Dravidians and the theory of their 'north-eastern origin' has been abandoned.

H. H. R

PLATE XVI.

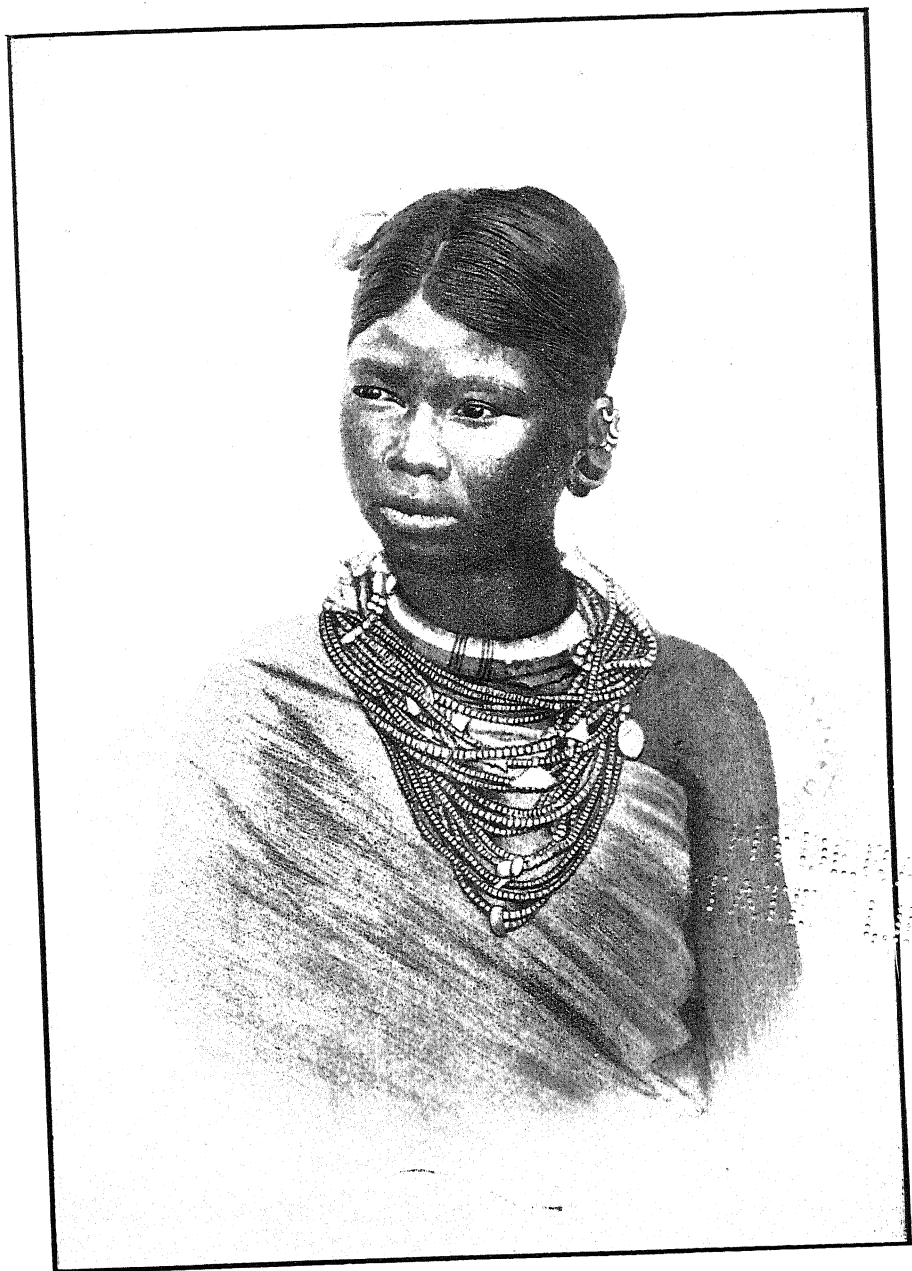
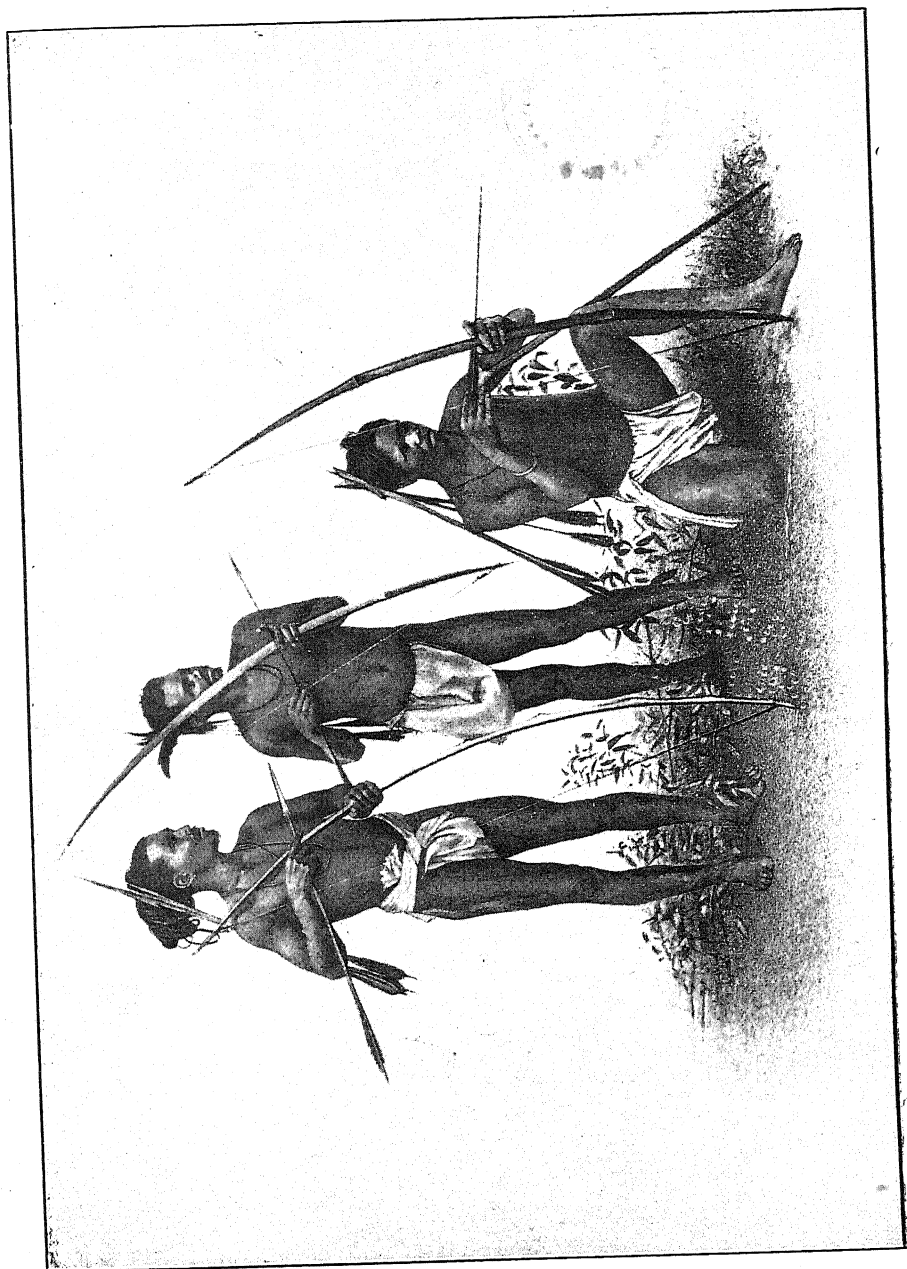


PLATE XVII.





## PLATE XX.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LATE MR. TOSCO PEPPE.

### JUANG GIRLS.

This illustration of the most primitive of the Kolarian race was obtained at Gonasika in Keonjhar, the legendary cradle of the race. The beads or bugles forming the girdles are of fine earthenware made by themselves. The bracelets are of brass and the necklaces of glass beads or flowers. The rest of the attire is of leaves. Mr. Peppé had immense difficulty in including these wild timid creatures to pose before him, and it was not without many a tear that they resigned themselves to the ordeal. It is right to mention that they were brought in from the forest, where they had been searching for their daily bread which chiefly consists of forest produce, and their leaves were not as neatly arranged as they would have been if the girls had had time to make a fresh toilette.

NOTE.—The origin of Juang millinery is obscure. According to one legend the goddess of the Baitarni river caught a party of Juangs dancing naked and ordained for the women, on pain of divine displeasure, the costume shown in the illustration. This consists of the young shoots of any tree with long soft leaves, stuck through the girdle in front and behind, and suitably draped. As long as the leaves are fresh they are comfortable enough; when they get dry they are unpleasantly prickly. For the men the goddess prescribed a shred of bark from the Tumba tree which has now given place to an exiguous strip of cloth. The Juang ladies, according to Colonel Dalton, repudiated this scandalous tale, and alleged that their attire expressed their genuine conviction, that women's dress should be cheap and simple, and, that fashions should never change. How much this was worth was seen a year or so later when a sympathetic Political Agent took the prevailing fashion in hand. An open air durbar, fitted out with a tent and a bonfire, was held in the Juang hills. One by one the women of the tribe filed into the tent and were robbed by a female attendant in Manchester *saris* provided at the Agent's expense. As they came out they cast their discarded *Swadeshi* attire into the bonfire. Thus ended a picturesque survival.



## PLATES XXI & XXII.

### TYPICAL SPECIMENS OF THE JUANG TRIBE, MALE AND FEMALE.

These are from photographs taken by Mr. Tosco Peppé at Gonasika in Keonjhar, one of the Cuttack Tributary States. The young man keeps his spare arrows hanging by the barbs from his matted black hair, as is also the custom of the Korwas.

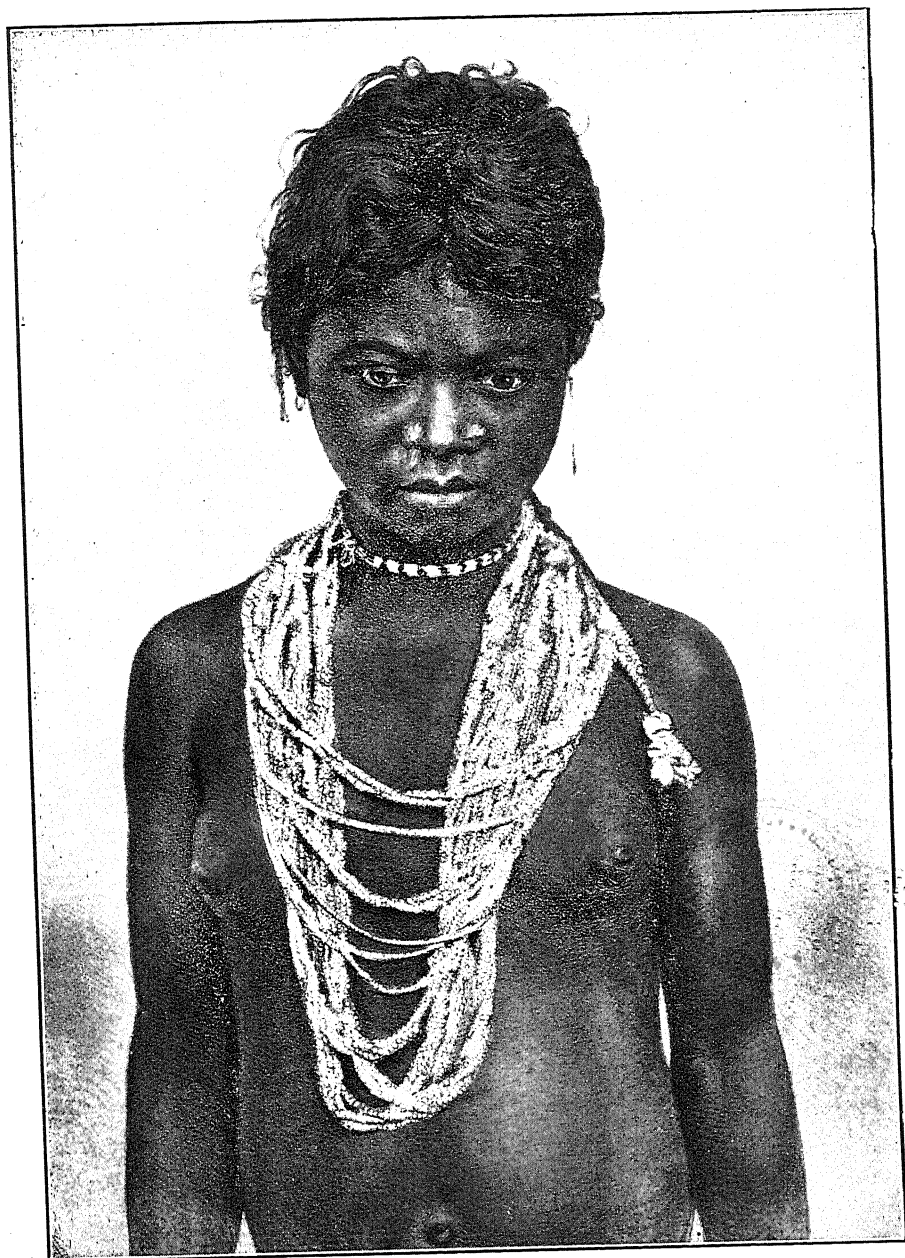


PLATE XXIII.

